

IRISH
VERSIFICATION

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ERRATA

page / line (from top of page)

- 15/7: insert # after 'two,'
- 15/29: italicise *Laoithe*
- 18/13: italicise *amus*
- 21/6: change 'na' to 'an'
- 23/6: print numeral 0 without diagonal slash
- 23/15: insert comma after 'form'
- 23/23: change '(A)' to '(a)'
- 24/4-7: cancel italics, retain bold; print 'adhmad', l. 4.
- 25/27: insert # after 'rather,'
- 29/16: remove 'largely'; replace 'recent editions' with 'the *Nua-Dhuanaire* volumes.'
- 29/21: change 'verse one' to 'verse--one'
- 31/8: insert note reference 14 after 'analysis.'
- 31/24: insert lenition > 'phríomhbhéim'.
- 31/33: remove note reference 14 after 'point.'
- 32/8: change 'three' to 'two'
- 32/9: change 'the second and final' to 'both'
- 49/17: change 'histening' to 'listening'
- 54/2: change 'defintion' to 'definition'
- 55/30: remove repetition of 'that' at end of line
- 59/37: change 'betwen' to 'between'
- 61/12: remove final oblique line after 'c/' > '1956 a/b/c,'.
- 69/3: change 'betweend' to 'between'
- 71/19: insert 'be' after 'have to'
- 73/11: change 'prectical' to 'practical'
- 74/28: insert 'found in' at end of line
- 74/29: read 'lexical words, rather than in grammatical words; they are the syllables which'
- 75/9: change 'carat' to 'caret'
- 78/20: insert long-mark on 'mé' at end of line
- 80/12-3: change 'complete' to 'completely'
- 80/28: change 'units' to 'elements', end of line.
- 80/29: change 'unit' to 'element'
- 80/31: change 'unit' to 'element'
- 81/12: change 'phrase-units' to 'phrase-elements'
- 81/24: change 'line' to 'element'
- 81/27: change 'line 'B'' to 'the 'B' element'
- 82/18: change 'unit' to 'element'
- 90/24: supply lenition > /*dhuibhe an*/ rather than /*duibhe an*/
- 100/1: supply lenition > /*dhuibhe an*/ rather than /*duibhe an*/
- 102/24: supply comma at end of line after 'think'
- 104/28: remove comma after 'hierarchy'
- 105/5: remove hyphen in 'six-feet'
- 113/12: insert 'or' after 'greater'
- 115/3: change 'chgainn' to 'chugainn'
- 115/8: insert # between 'cheann' and 'na'
- 115/26: insert / before 'fás'
- 116/29: insert / before 'éirigh'
- 130/17: insert 'of' after 'number'
- 161/24: insert # after 'lonnrach'
- 166/13: insert 'were' after 'population'
- 169/15: change *Thír and* to *Thír an*

172/20: insert 'the' between 'of' and 'two'
 177/43: change '§4.1.1' to '§11.1.1'.
 178/23: change 'an' to 'and' > 'long and ornamented'
 178/30: remove > following 'ornamentation'
 184/6: insert / > 'ancei/sors'
 185/34: change 'a' to 'an' > 'an /méid seo'
 186/10: insert / before 'seolta'
 192/5: insert 's' following apostrophe > 'ó héanaí's'
 192/12: change 'Ch. 4 (§4.1.6)' to 'Ch. 11 (§11.1.6)'
 199/27: insert # before 'monosyllabic'
 199/31: insert / before 'Chais'
 200/4: insert / before 'Luain'
 200/12: change 'minntin' to 'm'inntin'
 202/24: insert apostrophe before s > 'Rómha 's'
 208/24: insert # before 'Breatnach'
 212/15: italicise 'patterns'
 217/29: left-justify this item in central column
 220/35: change 'allolws' to 'allows'
 224/8: insert / > 'dou/cor'
 225/31: insert / before 'Éireann'
 226/7: insert # after 'lium'; remove # before 'óig-'
 229/14: insert / before 'Chríost'
 236/31: change 'are subtly different' to 'in the first foot are lacking'
 250/20: change 'simililar' to 'similar'
 253/14: insert # after '-bhruinneall'; remove # before 'shaor-'
 260/45: capitalise 'the' at head of sentence
 260/46: change 'rhytyhmicallly' to 'rhythmically'
 260/47: change 'lack' to 'lacks'
 264/30: change 'caooineadh' to 'caoineadh'
 270/24: remove repetition of 'other'
 275/23: insert # after 'foirm'; remove # before 'bhéarsa'
 279/9: change 'expositon' to 'exposition'
 286/top: supply oblique lines at foot-boundaries throughout item
 292/32: change 'a cárt' to 'an cárt'
 310/29: change 'comtrast' to 'contrast'
 311/27: change 'stanzas' to 'stanza'
 328/1: supply left-justification of this note
 328/32: insert 'second, longer' before 'type 1 refrain'
 340/10: italicise 'aicill'
 341/31: insert # after 'n' in 'ina'
 348/31: insert # before 'phoneme'
 362/29: change '12-4' to '12-14'
 381/5-9: close up lines and centre this quotation.
 407/25: remove # before 'buidhe'
 424/3: remove hyphen in 'sam-ple'
 425/8: change 'coantains' to 'contains'
 425/22: change 'structure' to 'structures'
 436/16: remove hyphen in 'instan-ces'
 437/5: remove hyphen in 're-main'
 464/31: change 'stresses' to 'stressers'
 469/9: cancel italics, 'Edinburgh.'
 469/10: cancel italics, 'ó Baoill, S. and M. (1975)'

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 7.9)

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The only attempt at a systematic analysis and classification of Irish accentual verse-metres available to scholars remains that of Prof. Tadhg ó Donnchadha ('Tórna'), the most recent editions of whose work are half a century old. The present thesis represents a second attempt at the same task, taking into account the contributions of Irish scholars and editors since ó Donnchadha's time as well as those of more recent metrical scholarship generally.

Following a survey of ó Donnchadha's work and an assessment of its influence upon later editorial practice, an attempt is made to summarise the various schools of metrical scholarship which have emerged in the context of English poetry, with the aim of discovering what principles, if any, might be useful in the construction of a metrical theory for Irish accentual verse. This examination of foreign metrical models is justified on the grounds of the rhythmical similarity between English and Irish, both of which may be described as strongly 'stress-timed' languages. Linguistic phenomena are, indeed, central to the choice of an appropriate theoretical model, and Ch. 3 is devoted to a phenomenologically-based discussion of the role of rhythm in spoken Irish and its implications for verse-structure.

Chapters 4 through 10 represent the central part of the thesis and are given over to a taxonomical survey of Irish verse-types, in which the principal criterion for inclusion in a given category is the number of stressed syllables in a line. Chapter 11 discusses the various stanzaic forms, both simple and complex, used by Irish poets, as well as certain supra-stanzaic organisational devices such as refrains and *ceangal* verses. In this context also the form known as *trí rann agus amhrán*, often likened to an Irish sonnet, is examined. The ornamentation of verse is the subject of the following chapter, with emphasis placed as much upon the position and function of ornament within the line/stanza as upon the character and linguistic significance of the types of ornament employed. A final chapter is devoted to discussion of the musical context of verse, with particular attention paid to the ways in which musical metre differs from verse-metre, and the implications of such differences for a system of versification primarily transmitted through a musical medium.

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My debt to all of these is great; but responsibility for this work, including any errors of fact or judgement which it may yet contain, remains my own.

In accordance with Regulation 2.4.15 of the University of Edinburgh, as it affects the submission of dissertations by candidates for the Ph.D., I hereby declare that the following thesis has been composed by myself and is my own work.

Portrush, Co. Antrim

31 December 1986.

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1 : 'TÓRNA' AND LATER EDITORS

1.0 More than half a century has passed since Professor Tadhg ó Donnchadha ('Tórna') published his first and most important work on Irish rhythmical metres, *Prosóid Gaedhilge*.¹ This publication broke new ground, as the subject had never previously been tackled in a serious manner by any student of Irish. Indeed, rhythmical verse has, as a subject for direct enquiry, long seemed to be regarded by most scholars as being of less interest than syllabic poetry. What is most remarkable, however, is that ó Donnchadha's effort to redress the balance has remained a solitary one, despite the fact that international developments in the field of metrics have arguably been greater in this century than in any previous. Such references as we find to Irish accentual poetry do not address themselves to the questions raised by ó Donnchadha's analysis; rather, Irish scholars and editors have thus far seemed content to accept his approach as a starting point for whatever they themselves wish to argue about the versification of individual poets, or about the genealogical relationship of accentual verse to syllabic poetry (a favourite topic), or about the features of Irish phonology or dialect usage which may be revealed in popular verse.

In the present chapter I shall attempt to summarise and evaluate ó Donnchadha's approach to metrics and, in the light of this evaluation, examine some of the ways in which his system of metrical analysis has been put to the test by editors since his time of writing. My summary of ó Donnchadha's work is based chiefly on *Prosóid Gaedhilge*, except where his school handbook on metrics, *Bhéarsaidheacht Gaedhilge*, may offer elucidation of a point not fully developed in the earlier work.

1.1 Syllabic organisation of the line

Professor ó Donnchadha's procedure for disentangling the metrical structure of a poem is, at bottom, a logical one based on the hierarchical organisation of the poetry itself (1925:2-14). The first step he advises the analyst to take is that of dividing the poem into

its constituent stanzas, where possible; this should then allow the number of lines in each stanza (*ceathrú*) to be determined.² Next, each line in the stanza should be scanned in order to determine its rhythmical and syllabic structure. The analyst should (a) count the number of stressed syllables in the line, (b) identify the vowel in each stressed syllable (*guta aiceanta*), (c) discover whether or not any unstressed syllable/s (*an ruthag*) may precede the first accented syllable in a line, and (d) note the number and distribution of unstressed syllables between one stressed syllable and the next. (To avoid confusion I am here equating the words 'stress', 'stressed syllable' and so forth with *ó Donnchadha's* terms which might seemingly be better translated 'accent' and 'accented'. The synonymity often assumed to exist between the terms 'stress' and 'accent' is rightly objected to by David Abercrombie [1976:51-3], whose redefinitions of these terms to a great extent form the basis of my own usage.)

Stressed syllables in the line he calls 'metrical accents' (*aicinn mhéidreachta*), and these he contends operate in binary opposition to unstressed syllables: although stressed syllables of different 'weights' may be observed in ordinary speech, these distinctions are, he says, immaterial in the context of Irish versification. The distance between one 'metrical accent' and the next he calls the foot (*céim*), and he stresses that a foot always begins on a stressed syllable. A foot may contain from one to four syllables, including in the count any syllable/s arising through epenthesis (*guta tacair*). A line of poetry must, he maintains, contain a minimum of two feet; lines containing in excess of five feet are normally written as two lines.

When the above procedures have been completed the analyst should be able to present his conclusions regarding the structure of a representative stanza or line of verse in terms of a 'metrical picture' (*deilbh méidreachta*). As an illustration he analyses the following quatrain by Pádraigín Haicéad:

A shuaircfhir sháimh ní sámh do reacaireacht sceóil
 Ba thuaidh dá ngráin ar scáithcheilt mh'aingilse dhóibh;
 Ar thuathal táid; do b'fheárr bheith balbh go mór
 'Ná buain le gáir ón gránna gafann do ghlór.

4 [∪ / ua ∪ / á ∪ / á ∪ / a ∪ ∪ / ó]

This analysis indicates the stressed vowel to be found in each of the five feet, as well as the number of unstressed syllables to be found in each foot and in the anacrusis (a term I have chosen as roughly equivalent to *ruthag*). The schema accurately represents the structural features of all four lines in the stanza. If, however, one of the assonating vowels failed to appear in the same position in all four lines its place in the schema would be taken by the symbol /x/; and if the anacrusis failed to appear in any of the lines (it is frequently an optional feature) it would be represented in the schema between brackets, thus: (∪).

Another procedure must, of course, be followed in the event of a stanza being composed of more than one type of line. This procedure involves the working out of a metrical formula (*formail méidreachta*) by means of which the analyst can formulaically symbolise the overall structure of the stanza. Thus the following quatrain by Aindrias Mac Craith may be expressed by the formula A+B+A+B or, more simply, 2(A+B):

'A' A bhile dhen fhuirinn nach gann
 'B' Ba chuireata i n-am gach cluiche nirt,
 'A' Ná tuigthear do mhisneach go fann
 'B' 'S a ghirreacht duit cabhair is cuideachta.

It should be emphasized that the metrical formula is intended by ó Donnchadha to supplement the line-by-line analysis, not to replace it.

In his definition of the foot as a metrical entity beginning with a stressed syllable and including all unstressed syllables up to the following stressed syllable ó Donnchadha embraces one of the basic tenets of what has been called the 'temporalist' tradition in metrical theory. We shall be examining various metrical traditions in the next chapter; suffice it to say here that I believe his approach in this

regard to be the correct one. In other respects, however, the analytical procedures he outlines, while sound enough as far as they go, are limited in their applicability and in their scope for revealing the more interesting and subtle aspects of verse structure. He has not, for example, explored either the possibility of internal divisions within the linear unit, or the rhythmical relationships of syllables within the foot; he too easily dismisses the possibility of secondary stress in the context of verse; he appears to define the line as an entity whose length is dictated by considerations of space on a page, rather than as an aurally-perceived unit of verse-structure; and his introduction of the concept of the *guta aiceanta*--by which he means vowel assonance, a type of verse-ornament--obscures the importance of what he is saying about the accentual system of the verse by making it seem as if such ornament is essential to the perception of the line as verse. We shall have more to say on all of these topics presently.

1.2 The ornamentation of verse

Next ó Donnchadha devotes considerable space to discussion of the various ornamental devices employed in the context of accentual verse (1925:15-42). First he discusses the nature of what he calls 'metrical vowels' (*gutaí méidreachta*), those vowels which usually (but not always) appear at the beginning of a foot, and which participate in the ornamental scheme of the stanza. Metrical vowels, he points out, are normally pronounced not according to their spelling, as in classical Irish poetry, but according to dialectal usage. Exceptions to this rule are certain words for which archaic pronunciation (*sean-fhuaim*) may be permitted by poetic custom. The majority of vocalic correspondences are recognisable more readily by ear than by eye, and the pronunciation of many words differs markedly from region to region.

In the following table ó Donnchadha classifies those vowels which function as metrical vowels in the poetry:

Long (<i>Fada</i>)	á	ó	ú	é	í
Short (<i>Gairid</i>)	a	o	u	e	i
Mixed (<i>Cummaig</i>)	ua	ia	ou	y	

The symbol /y/ he seemingly uses to indicate the diphthong /ai/, as in certain Munster pronunciations of *fill*, *greim*, *roinnt*, *deimhin*, etc. (1925:22). In addition to the above sounds, he says that a position of stress may be filled by a vowel which he calls the 'short unrounded' vowel (*an gairid neamhchruinn*) and which he represents with the symbol /ü/. The sound of this vowel may be variously spelt using the letters u, i, o, e, io, iu, oi, ui, and ei in normal orthography, but that these are intended to be identified as one vowel sound (at least for metrical purposes) he clearly demonstrates in the case of this stanza by Eoghan Rua:

Ní taise d'aon ghliogaire file do mhaoidhfeadh
 Cumas na buidhne críona do mheath
 Aicme le doille ná feiceann aon spíce
 Ó uireasba scíthe ag cuimhdeacht a mban.

Ó Donnchadha further describes how a vowel in the above table may be correctly identified not only when it occurs by itself in the syllable (as for example /á/ in *cás*), but also when it is the dominant element in a diphthong (*láir*) or triphthong (*Sheáin*) or when it derives from other features of the phonological environment (*cneadha* = *cneá*). In other words, *cás* and *láir* may assonate with one another even though, in Ó Donnchadha's terms, one contains a monophthong and the other a diphthong. On the other hand, however, he decries the practice of poets who allow the diphthong /ua/ to assonate with /ú/, and /ia/ with /í/ (1925:17). Unfortunately in this latter case he appears to be confusing description with prescription, in addition to failing to distinguish between the two different definitions of the term 'diphthong' implied in his own analysis; for more on this point, see §12.2.1 below.

By 'ornamentation' (*ornáidí*) ó Donnchadha means the use of metrical vowels and other features to ornament the rhythmical scheme of the verse. Such ornamentation is not prescribed, as it is in the case of classical bardic verse; some of the devices are, however, so common 'that it is not too much to say that they are *de rigueur* in certain types of poetry' (1925:27).

Of all ornamental devices used in accentual verse the most important, he says, is vowel assonance. This may be called by various names in Irish, depending upon the use to which it is put. *Comhfhuaime* denotes two assonating vowels which occur within the same line of verse, and whose function may be seen as that of linking half-lines together; *amus* indicates a series of assonating syllables appearing in consecutive lines of a stanza or paragraph;³ and *aicill* ('line-linking') is to be found in stanzas in which there is a change in the line schema from one line to the next, for example the 2(A+B) stanza we saw above. In such cases a metrical vowel or vowels in line 'A' may be echoed at the beginning or in the middle of line 'B', thus:

Stadaidh is sgéithfead sgéal na sgataí
ar mhaodhm ar mhailís Shátain....

This example, by Tadhg Gaelach ó Súilleabháin, shows the use of *aicill dhúbalta* ('double line-linking'), involving in this case both a stressed and an unstressed metrical vowel.

Less important ornamental devices which ó Donnchadha catalogues include alliteration (*uaime*), in which at least two consecutive stressed syllables in a line begin with the same consonant or with a vowel, and 'stanza-linking' (*conchlann*), in which the final word of a stanza is used again at the beginning of the next. He also mentions matters of poetic license which may affect the pronunciation of a word in the ornamental scheme, such as archaic pronunciation (*seanfhuaim*), which usually takes the form of replacing lost consonants in words like *abhann*, *iongantas*, or at least of preserving the original vowel of the first syllable rather than changing it to the long vowel or diphthong commonly pronounced in speech. Similarly, metrical exigencies may affect the pronunciation of what ó Donnchadha calls the 'hea-

vy short vowel' (*an gairid trom*): in monosyllables ending in 'heavy' consonants, i.e. *m*, *nn*, *ll*, *rr*, *ng*, the sound of the vowel is sometimes preserved as short, rather than made long or diphthongised as in most dialects to-day. This feature he shows in the schema by putting an umlaut over the vowel affected.⁴ Placement of lexical accent may also be a matter of discretion: in Munster dialects, where in certain phonological environments the accent normally falls on the final or penultimate syllable of a polysyllabic word, poetic usage may, according to metrical requirements, reflect modern pronunciation, or it may choose to disregard it in favour of placing the accent on the initial syllable.

Ó Donnchadha's discussion of ornamentation is adequate as far as it goes. While his summary of metrical vowels appears to be based solely upon Munster usage, and may therefore be of limited use as a guide to the ornamentation of poetry from other areas, it may nonetheless be possible and desirable to construct a not dissimilar schema which would indicate the basic parameters of what we may call the 'poetic phonology' of Irish accentual verse; see §12.2.2 below. The most important shortcoming of Ó Donnchadha's analysis is the fact that his appreciation of the function of various ornamental devices within a stanza is circumscribed by his failure adequately to understand the accentual structure of the verse in the first place. We shall hope to make our own position clear on all of these points in succeeding chapters, in particular in the chapter dealing with ornamentation.

1.3 Classification of verse types

The remainder of Ó Donnchadha's survey consists of a catalogue of the various types of poetry (*gnéithe filíochta*) found in the Gaelic tradition. He classifies these broadly as *ros*, *Laoidh Fiannuíochta*, *caoineadh*, *amhrán* and 'unusual' or 'easy' forms of versification.

1.3.1 *Rosg*

Rosg is poetry composed in a series of short lines with no regularised stanzaic structure i.e. sections of a poem contain no prescribed number of lines. A line may contain two feet (*rosg dhá chéim*) or three (*rosg trí gcéim*), but the two varieties should not be mixed within any single paragraph (*alt*) of verse. Likewise the final foot of each line may contain one, two, or three syllables, but the construction of the final foot should be the same throughout a paragraph, although succeeding paragraphs may vary the pattern. The only ornamental feature regular to *rosg* is an assonating vowel in the final foot; non-final feet need carry no ornament, nor need they preserve the same number of unstressed syllables from one line to the next (1925:43-5).

There is little, indeed, that one can quarrel with here, barring the fact that ó Donnchadha gives no indication of the metre's popularity, or of the types of verse for which it is most commonly employed. One of the examples he cites (the one by Piaras Mac Gearailt on p. 45) is misleading in that most of its lines contain four stresses; it should, obeying ó Donnchadha's own criteria, be classified as *caoine* rather than as *rosg*.

1.3.2 *Laoide Fiannuíochta*

The Fenian Lay (*Laoide Fiannuíochta*) is composed in a metrical form derived from the *rannaíocht* metres of classical poetry. In its four-line stanzas of the 2(A+B) type contain three to four accented words per line. Each half-stanza is ornamented with *aicill*, and the final foot of the 'B' lines contains an assonating vowel (1925:45-8).

It is of interest that ó Donnchadha saw fit to include this brief discussion of the Fenian Lay in a work dealing with rhythmical verse. He may have done so for the simple reason that the *Laoithe* represent a substantial body of modern Irish verse. At the same time he appears to recognise that, whatever their background as compositions in syllabic metre, they nevertheless contain a more-or-less regular

number of stressed syllables per line, and thus may be perceived as having some of the qualities of rhythmical poetry. The interesting implications of this idea have been recently explored in an important article by T. P. McCaughey which is discussed in §13.1.5 below.

1.3.3 *Caoineadh*

Caoineadh (ó Donnchadha spells it '*caoine*', but for the sake of later consistency we distinguish between *caoineadh* metre and *caoine*, the product of *caointeoireacht*) was originally, ó Donnchadha tells us, the form given to an elegy, although more recently it has come to be used in compositions which have no connexion with death. In this metre the length of the line may vary randomly between three and four feet, although lines containing four feet largely predominate. The final foot is generally disyllabic. *Caoineadh* is fully ornamented; but while the assonance in the final foot of each line remains uniform throughout each stanza of the poem and often from stanza to stanza as well, internal assonating vowels change frequently and in no regular pattern (1925:48-51).

ó Donnchadha's definition of this metre is adequate as far as it goes. He does, however, omit to mention one feature of *caoineadh* which should be regarded as diagnostic, even if it is not compulsory, and this is the fact that many poems employing this metre are composed in paragraphs and not in quatrains. His distinction between *caoineadh* and four-stress *amhrán* metre would appear to depend upon the inconsistency of internal ornament in the case of the former; but as we shall see, this criterion is insufficient to an understanding of the ornamental requirements of either *caoineadh* (of which examples may be cited containing no internal ornament at all) or *amhrán* (the ornamentation of which is frequently less perfect than ó Donnchadha seems to imply).

1.3.4 *Amhrán*

The largest category in Ó Donnchadha's classification is *amhrán*, a type of poetry defined, he says, by the fact that it is meant to be sung. He decries the over-broad use of the term to indicate all types of modern Irish verse, including many for which there is no evidence of their having been performed in a musical context.⁵ He argues that in true *amhrán* verse, music is responsible for the shape of the stanza, for the number of parts into which it is divided. Irish tunes are normally divisible into two main parts, and usually each of these may be further subdivided, giving the tune four 'periods'. In the poetry, if one allots one line of verse to each of these musical periods one is left with a four-part composition. When the musical periods are short, and thus the lines of poetry correspondingly so, the result is a 'lyric', and it is possible to write or print a single period of the tune and its accompanying line of verse in one line. But when the musical period is longer it is necessary to extend the unit over two lines or more. Thus in Ó Donnchadha's analysis the number of lines in the stanza as written or printed is taken to be a significant indication of its structure, and of the shape of the tune to which it was composed.

Professor Ó Donnchadha is to be given full credit for this attempt at reconciling the structural features of verse with those of its musical context. Until very recently Irish scholars have chosen simply to ignore musical considerations, to the clear detriment of their understanding of accentual verse as a whole. We shall be discussing these more recent contributions--some of which contain echoes of Ó Donnchadha's views expressed here--and the whole question of the musical context of verse in considerable detail in our final chapter. For the moment suffice it to say that, while in most of our examples verse-stanza and tune are coextensive in length, this is not inevitably so; furthermore, the correspondence between verse-structure and musical structure at levels other than that of stanzaic organisation are nowhere near as clear-cut as Ó Donnchadha's remarks might imply; and, finally, our evidence suggests that the influence of an air, while it is doubtless a factor in the choice of model for a

new composition, is far from being the only such factor, nor is an air alone capable of dictating the form of verse which must be set to it.

(a) *Four- and eight-line stanza structures*

The remainder of ó Donnchadha's examination of the *amhrán* metres is organised on the basis of stanzaic length, the number of lines in the stanza determining the classification of various types of verse. The most common *amhráin* are, he asserts, those composed in four- and eight-line stanzas; other types of composition, up to twenty lines, are possible but are more unusual.⁶

Four-line stanzas may be of three types. The first is what ó Donnchadha defines as '*amhrán* itself' (*amhrán féin*) (1925:53-4). This type consists of five-foot lines containing *comhfhuaim* in the middle of the line and *amus* throughout, such as the following example by Pádraigín Haicéad:

A ua so Luirc is Bhloid is Bhriain is Chais
ó ár dTruaghnaít ghuirt ó d'fhulaing Dia do theacht
Buadh do thuraís uile id thríallaibh leat
Go gluaiseacht duit i gcumus siar tar th'ais.

Secondly he describes a type containing four feet per line (*an líne cheithirchéimeannach*) (1925:54-5). The ornamentation is similar to that employed in the five-foot line, as illustrated in this quatrain by Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin:

Cois taoibh abhann sínte 's me tráth indé
Ag smaoineamh ar chlaoinbheartaibh gnáis an tsaoghail
Chuir síol flatha is saoithe d'fhuil ársaidh Gaedheal
Thar taoide fá dhaoirse gan sgáth ná réim.

The third type of four-line stanza he calls 'alternation' (*malart-achas*) (1925:56-7). By this he seems to mean any four-line stanza in which not all of the lines are identical in structure. This is one of the types for which a *formail méidreachta* needs to be indicated. He cites as an example the following stanza by Aindrias Mac Cruitín, in

which each line contains two feet and the whole stanza may be represented by the formula AABA:

A mhúirnín dil smaoín
Ar Chúntaois Thráigh Lí
Mar shiubhail sí na cúigi
Le lúircín fá thrí.

The eight-line stanza is, with the exception of the quatrain, the most common stanzaic structure in Irish verse. *Rócán* and *ochtfhoclach* are the most common varieties, but there are a few other less important types as well (1925:61-70).

Rócán, ó Donnchadha asserts, derives from European ballad metre: the same structure can, he says, be seen in the Hiberno-English broadside ballads and 'Come-all-ye's.' The structural formula for *rócán* is always 4(A+B). Each line contains three feet; each couplet contains *aicill* rhyme; and the four 'B' lines assonate in the final foot. This stanza by Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill illustrates the form:

Isé do leónaigh mo chumas,
An bonnaire fiadhphuic fáin,
Do léim thar teórainn de thuraic
Ler milleadh le cian an mádh;
Faochoin fóirnirt le fuinneamh
Chuir brise air ó thriall a ghnáis;
D'éimhigh sé comhrac gan mhisneach,
Is d'imthigh ó rian a námhad.

Ochtfhoclach also embodies an alternating (A+B) line pattern: line 'A' contains four feet, while line 'B' may contain either three or four. *Aicill* (often *aicill dhúbalta*) operates not only between lines 'A' and 'B', but also seemingly within line 'A', thus:

Fáilte dá n-éis siud // ó lánsgairt mo chléibh dhuit
le háthas seoch éinne // san Chóige.

ó Donnchadha proposes that this couplet be analysed with the formula (3A+B), where 'A' refers not to a whole line, but to each section of a line which bears the pattern $\smile / \acute{a} \smile \smile / \acute{e} \smile$. 'B' is then equivalent to the pattern $\smile / \acute{o} \smile$, and the whole couplet resembles 'three leaves and a stalk'--like the shamrock. The best formula for the

whole stanza, then--more precise than $4(A+B)$ --must be $4(3A'+B')$. Any type of verse in Irish which corresponds to this pattern should be classified as *ochtfhoclach* verse.²

Other eight-line stanza forms are included in Ó Donnchadha's discussion (1925:65-8). These, however, not only occur far less frequently in the corpus of Irish verse than do *rócán* and *ochtfhoclach* but they also lack the regularity of construction which these two forms exemplify; for these reasons they are, I think, more appropriately categorised as unusual stanza structures.

(b) *Irregular and unusual stanza structures*

Ó Donnchadha devotes considerable attention and space to stanzaic types other than the quatrain and octet--greater attention, in fact, than the incidence of such stanzaic types in the literature would seem to warrant. With the exception of twelve- and sixteen-line *ochtfhoclach* forms, these forms are nearly all of considerable complexity, and require in Ó Donnchadha's system of analysis both lengthy line-by-line schematic descriptions and elaborate formulae to express their structure. Ó Donnchadha analyses in this fashion examples of stanzas containing variously five, six, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen and twenty lines (1925:57-8 and 70-87).

Ó Donnchadha's taxonomical system, in which verse types are differentiated according to the number of lines in the stanza as written or printed, creates a number of problems both for himself and for the analyst who would make use of his procedures. In the first place, this system of classification renders illogical the comparison of verse occurring in different stanzaic contexts, and thus works against the discovery of underlying structural principles which might operate within stanzas of different lengths. In addition it occasionally leads him to create false--or, at any rate, meaningless--categories, as in the case of the twelve- and sixteen-line *ochtfhoclach* (which are still *ochtfhoclach* and thus should not be classed along with other twelve- and sixteen-line stanzas which they do not in the least resemble). Further misrepresentation occurs in the case of songs containing refrains (*luinneógach*). These Ó Donncha-

dha invariably treats as if the refrain were integral to the verse-structure, when in fact it may be in deliberate contrast to the verse and require separate analysis. Thus he falsely categorises as eight-line stanza-types two examples consisting of four-line stanzas with four-line refrains (1925:67); similarly he classifies as a twelve-line stanza na ordinary eight-line *ochtfhoclach* stanza followed by a refrain in a contrasting structure (1925:75).

One of the greatest problems with ó Donnchadha's analysis is his failure to distinguish the fact that, while both accentual and ornamental patterning are important to the structure of verse, the implications of the two may on occasion be somewhat at variance. In this event it becomes necessary to determine which of the two patterning systems--the accentual or the ornamental--is primarily responsible for defining the structure of the verse and, in particular, for imparting the sense of symmetry and balance necessary to the definition of an utterance as verse in the first place. In practice ó Donnchadha appears unquestioningly to have assumed that this function was fulfilled by the ornamentation of the lines; and in this assumption I believe he was mistaken. Consider his analysis of the following stanza by Tadhg Gaelach (1925:71):

- | | |
|---|---|
| A | éisteadh gach eólach san Éoraip go héachtach |
| B | Mo sgeólta go sgéithgead don tsaoghal gan spás; |
| A | Aonmhac uilechómhachtach na trócaire gur thréigeas, |
| B | Ár nglóir uile ár ngéarshearc do shaor sinn sa pháis; |
| C | Ár gcraobhair bronntach bile milis, |
| C | Cabhair an domhain againn a ghile, |
| C | Fonn na bhfann ár gcoinneall oinigh |
| D | Réilthean na ngrás, |
| E | Ughdar na féile agus péarla na díodhachta, |
| F | Ár gcaomhchumann íosa do sgaoilfidh ár gcás. |

This stanza ó Donnchadha reduces to the formula $[2(A+B)+3C+E+F]$. As a formula it accurately reflects the fact that the ornamentation of lines 'B' and 'F' differs from that of lines 'A' and 'B'; it fails, however, to account for the overall impression of symmetry embodied in the stanza. This impression is created (a) by the fact that lines AB and EF are rhythmically (if not ornamentally) identical, and (b) by the use of the final assonance /á/ in lines 'B', 'D' and 'F'. If one were to construct a formula based upon the rhythmical patterns of the

lines, rather than solely upon the ornamentation of those patterns, the basic symmetry of the stanza would stand revealed, thus $[2(A+B)+(3C+D)+(A+B)]$. That the stanza is basically a four-part one seems to be indicated by the use of the same assonating vowel /á/ at the end of each section, even of the contrasting one (3C+D); and it subsequently requires little imagination to see that this stanza represents nothing more complicated than a variation of the pattern AABA, over the centuries one of the most widely-used song-structures in western Europe.

Not all of the seemingly-complex poetry in the Munster repertoire would submit to such easy formulaic description, even were such description based on rhythmical rather than ornamental criteria. Ó Donnchadha's system of analysis does possess the virtue of requiring the reader to pay close attention to ornamental detail. As a system it would, however, appear to rely rather too heavily on ornamentation as an indication of overall stanzaic structure, when in fact this may not be the principal function of ornamentation at all. Further, the failure of the analyst adequately to understand the implications of the accentual patterning may prevent him from appreciating the full artistic intentions of the poet in cases where the latter has deliberately chosen an ornamental schema at some degree of variance with accentual structure.

1.3.5 'Unusual' metres and 'easy' versification

At the end of *Prosóid Gaedhilge* Ó Donnchadha deals with what he clearly regards as peripheral matters, i.e. 'metrical distinctiveness' (*leithleachas méidreachta*) and 'easy' or 'inexact' versification (*réidhmhéidreacht* or *méidreacht neamhchruinn*) (1925:87-93 and 93-103).

Under the heading *leithleachas méidreachta* Ó Donnchadha includes definitions of some metrical types which he has not seen fit to include in his main catalogue. One of these is *ochtfhoclach breachtach*, which he defines as a less-rigorous type of *ochtfhoclach* in which metrical vowels do not remain the same in all stanzas of a poem nor even, in some cases, in all lines of a stanza. Secondly he gives

two examples of stanzas which purport to imitate the *rannaíocht* metres, although he does not expound any general rules for this sort of composition. The third and, in my view, most important type of verse which ó Donnchadha defines as *leithleachas méidreachta* is *cross-ánacht* (*sic*), another form which he deems to be based upon a syllabic metre (1925:90). He cites the following stanza by Eoghan Rua:

- A A éigse suadha Sléibhe Luachra
- B éistidh linne seal,
- C I laoithibh éifeacht daoibh go léighfead
- D Fé mar sgriosadh me.

Each pair of lines contains six stressed vowels; but while lines 'B' and 'D' (each two feet in length) contain the same metrical vowels, lines 'A' and 'C' (both four feet) need not do so. He takes the view that, as this form of versification represents a relic of an old poetic form it is incorrect to use it in order to construct stanzas of any greater length than the one quoted. This short and, to my mind, quite inadequate reference is the only one ó Donnchadha makes to an elegant form of versification practiced not only by the very Munster poets under his particular scrutiny, but also by a number of important Ulster poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries--practiced, I should say, in a manner that he would apparently consider incorrect.⁹

ó Donnchadha classifies as *réidhmbhéidreacht* any versification in which (A) there is a change of metrical vowels in feet where there should be no such change, or (B) there is other than the correct number of syllables in any foot or more than one syllable in the anacrusis; this latter phenomenon he calls *cruachadh siollabh*. Because of its comparative lack of rigour such versification is, in his view, easy to master (in contrast with the *méidrecht chruinn ealadhnta* he has previously examined), and is consequently found in considerable quantity among the compositions of recent poets, and in popular songs; although in the case of the latter, he says, metrical incongruities may as well be due to faulty transmission as to faulty composition (1925:94).

By way of illustrating the first of these points, ó Donnchadha cites a stanza from the poem *Cill Chais*, a *rócán* stanza in which the

only consistently displayed ornamental features are the *aicill* rhyme between lines 'A' and 'B', and the final assonance at the end of line 'B' (1925:95-6):

A Cad do dhéanfaimidfeasda gan *adhmad*?
 B Tá deire na *gcoillte* ar lár;
 A Ní'l trácht ar Chill Chais ná ar a *theaghlach*,
 B 'S ní bainfar a *creidhil* go bráth;
 A An áit úd 'na gcomhnuíodh an deighbhean
 B Fuair gradam is *heidhir* thar cách;
 A Na mbíodh iarlaí ag tarraint thar toinn ann
 B 'S an t-aifreann binn dá rádh.

He summarises his analysis of the stanza thus, the symbol 'x' indicating a syllable containing no assonantal ornament, and 'y' indicating the diphthong /ai/:

A ~ / x ~ ~ / x ~ ~ / y ~
 B ~ / x ~ ~ / y ~ / á

Similarly he quotes a stanza of *ochtfhoclach* which begins thus (1925:97):

Lá bhreágh (*sic*) gréine 's me ag dul ar aonach
 A cheannach bhéabhair dhen fhaision nódh,...

In this stanza every alternate foot carries an assonating vowel, but none of the intervening feet does so; he represents the pattern with the schema:

/ x ~ / é ~ ~ / x ~ / é ~
 ~ / x ~ / é ~ ~ / x ~ / ó

In both of these cases the ornamentation is still quite regular, if more limited than in the fully-ornamented examples he has given us earlier. The obvious question is, why are some stressed syllables ornamented while others are not? Can we learn anything of interest about verse-structure from the fact that ornamentation is regularly present on certain stressed syllables, but absent from others? Or are we simply to assume that verse which lacks ornamentation on every stressed syllable is somehow defective? That ó Donnchadha made this latter assumption is implicit in his classification of such examples as *réidhmbhéidreacht*; the possibility that more might have been involved does not seem to have occurred to him.

Another manifestation of *réidhmfheidreacht* is *cruachadh siollabh*, which ó Donnchadha defines as 'more than the correct number of syllables in a foot, or more than one syllable in an anacrusis' (1925:99). The following is typical of his examples (pp. 99-100):

Chuadhmail 'dtigh an ósta
 'S do bhíomair ar stól ár suidhe;
 "Glaeidh ar phunch is ól do dhóithin,
 Thabhrfadh fóirthin ar do thinneas chroidhe."

Both the irregularity of the rhythmical pattern and the incompleteness of the ornamentation are shown in the schema:

~ (~) / x ~ / x ~ / ó ~
 ~ (~) / x ~ ~ (~ ~) / x ~ / í

and ó Donnchadha proposes the following emendation for the second of the two couplets:

"Glaeidh ar phunch do dhóithin
 Sí thabhrfadh fóirthin díbh."

With another example, however, he gets into some difficulty (1925:99):

Faid do bhíodh an bainne á théigheamh agam
 Seadh ghlaodhainn ar na gamhna.

This he analyses with the following schema:

~ ~ / í ~ ~ ~ / é (~) ~ / é ~ ~ / ou ~

Here ó Donnchadha shows an anacrusis of two syllables, and manages to reduce the second foot to three syllables only by requiring that *théigheamh* be pronounced *thé* (instead of *théav*, presumably), so that the first syllable of *agam* may be elided. What he fails to see (or, rather, to hear) is that all three non-final feet actually contain four syllables, thus:

~ ~ / í ~ ~ ~ / é ~ ~ ~ / é ~ ~ ~ / ou ~

The line is, in fact, in duple rather than triple rhythm--but rhythm is another matter into which ó Donnchadha has not seen fit to enquire.

1.4 Recent editorial practice

Some of the weaknesses of ó Donnchadha's approach have been alluded to already, and perhaps the best way of estimating the significance of ó Donnchadha's work, and the detrimental effect--if any--of these weaknesses, is by examining the work of more recent editors whose analytical procedures are based on the principles laid down by ó Donnchadha.

It would appear from such examination that the most grievous shortcoming of ó Donnchadha's work lies in his overemphasis on the structural importance of ornamentation, and his simultaneous lack of emphasis on the functional importance of rhythmical patterning. His failure adequately to examine the whole question of stress, how it is perceived and how it should be defined in terms of its role in verse-structure, and particularly his failure to recognise that different degrees of stress are perceived at different points within that structure, are of crucial significance here. The fact is that by focussing from the beginning on the ornamentation of verse ó Donnchadha--whatever he may have thought himself--has perhaps unintentionally encouraged a number of editors in the belief that verse-structure is entirely dependent upon ornamental patterning. Dr Daithí ó hógáin, in his notes to *Duanaire Thiobraid Árann*, has actually articulated what would appear to be a widely-held view: referring to the first poem in that collection he remarks that the metre used is a non-strict form of *ceathairchéimeannach* in which *combfhuaim* is to be found in a number of lines, 'ach is ar an amas idir an chéim dheiridh de gach líne laistigh den cheathrú atá an mheadaracht ag brath' (DTA:69). To state that the entire metrical integrity of the verse-form depends upon an identical end-rhyme appearing at the end of every line, as Dr ó hógáin seems to be doing, is wildly to overstate the importance of such ornament, as we shall hope to demonstrate in subsequent chapters of this work.

Nevertheless it would appear that a good many in addition to ó hógáin have taken a similar view. One of the commonest faults which one finds in the metrical analyses supplied in recent editions and anthologies is the underestimation of the number of stressed syllables in a line of verse. It would appear that editors are equating *ornamented* syllables with *stressed* syllables, and failing to recognise that (a) verse structure commonly allows unornamented stressed syllables at particular positions in the line, and (b) just because a syllable may be unornamented need not imply that it is unstressed, or that it performs no essential structural function within the line. (ó Donnchadha, to give him his due, seems thoroughly to have understood the importance of unornamented stressed syllables as part of an overall accentual pattern; where he has let subsequent editors down is in failing to emphasise this point, and perhaps in linking ornamental patterning to accentual patterning at too early a stage in his discussion.) A number of examples may be cited. Prof. ó Buachalla, for example, states that the metre of the following stanza is *cacineadh*, that each line contains three stressed syllables, and that only the last of these is ornamented (ND 2:3 and 76):

Ar na /mhárach 'ndéidh an /fhómhair sin a /dhéanamh
 is tinn /breoite bhí /Gordon ó /Néill ann,
 /Seán na /Seamar á /ghearradh le /faobhair,
 is an /ginearal /Francach a d'fhág /angar ar /éire
 ina /cheathrúnaí ar /leataoibh an /chlaoín ann;
 /ní hé sin /cás dom ach /scrúd na /nGael bocht:
 an /eaglais /dháimhiúil /chráifeach /Ghaelach
 ag /triall ar /sáile is gan /fáth dhóibh /shéanadh,
 mar /dheoraibh ins gach /róidín ó /chéile.

Clearly, however, a number of the lines in this verse-paragraph have four stresses, not three, and nearly all of the lines display some form of internal assonance.¹⁰

More common is the identification of a five-stress line, in which the first stressed syllable is frequently unornamented, as a line containing four stresses. This seemingly is what happens in Seán ó Gallchóir's analysis of the *annálach* to Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta's poem *Tuireamh Mhurcha Crúis*. He gives as 'patrún an amhráin' the formula | é - é - x - ú | (SMC:37 and 82):

To assume that the first stressed syllable in the line is the one ornamented with the vowel /é/ is to assume a cumbersome anacrusis at the beginning of each line, not to mention a totally unnatural destressing of syllables which would normally receive stress in other contexts.

A /charaid /dhílis na /cuir mise ar /díbirt as an
 /áitidh go /fóill,
 /In a /dtíortha dá /dtugas /míos de dhíth /ársaidh agus
 /óg,
 Má /thig tú /síos liom /gheobhair /fíon as an /jar atá
 aige /Róis,
 Má /bhíonn tú /críonna, cha /mbímse i /ndíomá leat go
 /bráth níos /mó.

There are, of course, two six-stress line patterns, *croisantacht* and *rócán*. Misinterpretation of the former appears to be the more common, but Prof. Ó Buachalla has nevertheless interpreted this stanza by Aodh Mac Dónaill as corresponding to the pattern x / á / á / í,

implying that there are only four stressed syllables in each pair of lines as printed (ND 2:66 and 110):

Nach /tuirseach mo /thuras an /tráth so
ag /pilleadh ó /chlár na /Mí,
gan /duine 'mo /chuideacht san /lá,
nó /cumann le /mná san /oích';
ach an /mhuintir a /chonaic mé /lá
is a /chraithfeadh dhá /láimh le /hAodh,
go /bhfuil siad a/nois ina /náimhde,
i /gcogadh le /bard is le /saoi.

ó Buachalla's interpretation of this stanza is even more remarkable given that the presence of the 'short unrounded' vowel makes the ornamentation of this stanza virtually complete: a better representation of the ornamental pattern would, using ó Buachalla's system, be something like *i / *i / á // *i / á / í, the symbol /*i/ largely replacing ó Donnchadha's /ü/ in recent editions.

Rócán verse is also occasionally wrongly identified as five-stress *amhrán* metre. Here the difference in line-length is only one foot, and making the correct judgement may be a more subtle matter. Tomás ó Concheanainn, in his edition of *Cáit Ní Dhuibhir* (ND 3:4 and 71), appears to be basing his analysis on the first line of verse one which, indeed, does fit the description implied in his analysis of lines 1-8: x / é / é / x / í. The other three lines in the stanza, however, only fit this pattern if one artificially destresses the words *chnoic*, *bhinne*, and *thuigeas*:

Tráth/nóinín beag /déanach, 's mo /thréada agam á /gcur
ón /sion,
ar /leataoibh chnoic im /aonar, 's ba /ghléasta do /bhí
mo /phíob,
bhí an /ceol ba bhinne ab /fhéidir ag /éanlaith is gach
/nóta /fíor,
's do /réir mar thuigeas /féin iad, beidh /éire 'ge
/Cáit Ní /Dhuibhir.

Given that the three destressed words all contain the short unrounded vowel /*i/ and thus assonate with one another it seems unlikely that ó Concheanainn's analysis is the correct one. In fact it is frequently the case that the first stanza of a poem is not the best one upon which to base a metrical analysis, particularly where the version of

the poem in question may have originated in an oral performance: the singer getting into his stride may make small changes in the first few lines, thus subtly misrepresenting the structure of the verse. A more reliable procedure--at least in those cases where verse-structure is not obviously of more than one type in the poem--is to examine subsequent stanzas, preferably more than one, in order to determine what might have been the poet's overall intention. In the present case the third and subsequent stanzas clearly indicate that the verse model was *rócán* rather than five-stress *amhrán*:

Tá /míle /dath ina /clóca,
 is a /bróigin ar /dhath an /fhraoigh,
 /gúna den /fhaisean /nódh uirthí
 den /tsórt bhíonn ar /níon an /rí;
 'a /chumann /chroí is a /stór dhil,
 suigh go /fóillín 's ní /'neosad /puinn,
 ach go /raghainnse a/rís in /óige
 dá mbeinn /pósta le /Cáit Ní /Dhuibhir'.

The ornamental schema for the stanza could be represented by the formula $x / x / \acute{o} // \acute{o} / x / \acute{i}$, although this would fail to show the probably significant assonance between *dath* and *fhaisean* in lines ab, and *chroí* and *arís* in lines cd.¹³

In the above examples the metrical analysis provided by the editor or anthologist differs by no more than one or two feet from the correct analysis, and the error may be explained, as I have suggested, by their equation of ornamental patterning and linear structure. In other cases, however, the difference between the analytical pattern shown and the true structure of the verse may be much greater. Consider, for example, the following stanza from Mac Cuarta's poem *Iníon Dilibhéir Pluincéad*, for which the editor, Seán Ó Gallchóir, gives the analysis $\acute{l}u - \acute{u} - \acute{u} - \acute{a} \mid$ (SMC:28 and 81):

Ar /aonach an /Luain insan /Uadhan so /thuas
 Is é /tharla dhamh an /stuaírbhean a /bhreathnaigh mo
 /chás;
 Is é /d'fhág mé faoi /ghruaim, gan /chodladh, gan /suan,
 Mar /dhrithle den /ngual thug /goradh in mo /lár,
 An /ní úd a /fuaramar ón /ríbhean an /úair sin
 Mar /abhall na /mbua chuir /Paris ar /sáil;
 Is go /dtaibhstear damh an /uair sin go /mbeodh sí /suas
 /Duine bheadh i /suan, tar éis a /feicsin, ón /mbás.

ó Gallchóir states that the metre is *amhrán*, which in combination with the ornamental pattern gives the reader the impression that the line must be some sort-of-four-stress *amhrán* metre. Clearly, however, the poem is an example of *ochtfhoclach* metre, and contains eight stresses in each of its four lines. I suspect, however, that ó Gallchóir is here taking the common view that only those stresses participating in the ornamental schema of the stanza need be shown in the metrical analysis. There is, as we shall eventually see, some justification for this view, as those stresses which consistently attract ornamentation are those which might be termed the principal stresses in linear structure. Seosamh Mag Uidhir, editor of the poems of Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondáin and another whose metrical analyses are of this character, has at least done the reader the courtesy of explaining this point. In connexion with an *ochtfhoclach* stanza which begins

A /Rí lér /fuasclaíodh as /geimheal /guaise
do /phobal /usal ón /éigipt,....

he explains (PML:6 and 65):

Tá seacht dtroigh i ngach líne. Ceathrar acu seo bíonn príomhbhéim ghutha iontu, agus triúr acu nach mbíonn ach fobhéim. Bíonn comhshondas inmheánach i gcónaí idir gutaí na chéad trí siolla atá faoin phríomhbhéim, agus de ghnáth idir na gutaí atá faoin fhobhéim. Sa troigh dheireanach bíonn dhá shiolla, ceann acu faoi príomhbhéim agus guta fada ann ar fud an véarsa, agus siolla gan bhéim ina dhiaidh. ... Má léitear an dán ar an dóigh seo mothaítear an rithim bhríomhar atá leis: má dhéantar neamhshuim den scéim príomhaiceann/fo-aiceann, bíonn an dán leamh, leathmharbh, gan bhrí.

This is indeed a very important insight, illustrating the--to use a term often applied to ballad verse in English--'dipodic' character of *ochtfhoclach* metre and, to a less marked extent, of other Irish accentual metres. Would that other editors had made themselves equally clear on this point.¹⁴

Less comprehensible, but nevertheless related to this whole question of ornamental vs. accentual patterning, are those examples in which editors have correctly identified all of the assonantal vowels in what ó Donnchadha would have termed a fully-ornamented stanza, but

have nevertheless still failed to identify all of the stressed syllables in the line. This would appear to result from an overwillingness to believe in the ornamentation of unstressed syllables--a phenomenon which, does, indeed, occur, although perhaps not to the extent that some editors assume. Pádraig de Brún, for example, analyses the *amhrán ceangail* to Keating's poem *A bhean lán de stuaim* with the formulaic schema *i / é é / á í ua, leaving the reader with the impression that the lines contain only three stressed syllables, and that the second and final feet contain multiple assonances (ND 1:16 and 99):

A /fhinnebhean /tséimh /shéaghanta /shárchaoín /tsuairc
na /muirearfholt /réidh /raonfholtach /fá a ndíol
/gcuach,
is /íongnadh an /ghné /thaomannach /fhásaíos /uait;
gé /doiligh an /scéal, /tréig mé agus /táig dhíom /suas.

The stanza is, however, clearly based upon a five-stress line, only the penultimate foot of which carries a double ornament. Analysis which represents only the ornamental pattern and ignores or actively misinterprets the accentual structure of the line is meaningless and misleading to the reader.¹⁵


We earlier referred to ó Donnchadha's failure to deal with the whole question of rhythm, and particularly to acknowledge the fact that different degrees of stress may be perceived in verse, as much as in ordinary speech. This circumstance has again led to weaknesses in editorial practice since his own time. All of the examples which we have just been examining show stressed syllables going unacknowledged in metrical analysis, resulting in an analytic schema which is a foot or more shorter than required accurately to reflect the length of the line. Here, on the other hand, is a stanza for which the editor, Prof. ó Concheanainn, actually posits one more foot than the line in fact contains (ND 3:16 and 78):













/Faraor géar nár /cailleadh mé an lá ar /baisteadh mé go /hóg,
sul má /fágadh 'mo chadhan /aonraic mé gan /feithide an bhéil
/bheo,
níl /deartháir a'm, níl /deirfiúr a'm is /níl mo mháithrín /beo,
tá /m'athair bocht lag /aosta is, a /Chríost, cé híonadh /dhó?

He analyses this stanza according to the following schema:

x	/	a	/	a	/	x	/	ó	(line 1)
x	/	é	/	é	/	x	/	ó	(line 2)
x	/	x	/	x	/	x	/	ó	(line 3)
x	/	í	/	í	/	x	/	ó	(line 4)

The stanza is, of course, inconsistently ornamented: as ó Donnchadha pointed out, one can expect less in the way of ornamental sophistication from popular songs, and this is a popular song of relatively recent composition. It is even more important, in such cases, to start with a clear understanding of the basic rhythmical pattern of the lines; one thereafter knows, as it were, where to look for the ornamental features. The schema outlined above would appear to make nonsense of the rhythmical structure of the stanza.

It is, in fact, stanzas like this one which give the lie to the notion that there is no such thing as secondary stress in Irish verse, and which illustrate the need for a rhythmical theory as part of any model for verse-analysis. If one accepts the idea of secondary stress, and if one can understand the concept of a duple rhythm in addition to a triple one, then the four lines above reveal a perfectly regular rhythmical pattern (the symbol /  / indicates a secondary stress):

4 [() /     /     /     / ó]

ó Donnchadha's failure to investigate the question of rhythm--triple as well as duple--can probably be blamed for a certain amount of the faulty metrical analysis to be found in the work of more recent editors, as well as for the fact that very few such editors have themselves seen fit to address rhythmical questions or, indeed, any other aspects of the accentual system of Irish verse.¹⁶

We have already commented, too, on ó Donnchadha's unfortunate choice of stanza-length, rather than line-length, as a device for categorising different types of Irish verse. This technique is obviously unsatisfactory in that the same types of lines may appear in

different types of stanza: *ochtfhoclach* verse, for example, is found not only in quatrains but also in couplets (where Ó Donnchadha disguises its presence by calling it *malartachas*) and in longer stanzas, obscuring the fact that precisely the same sort of verse may be involved in all cases. The fact is that classifying a type of poetry as a '*ceathrú chúiglíneach*', or an '*ochtlíneach loinneogach*', or an '*amhrán ceathairlíneach aicilleach*' is not nearly as illuminating as it would be to describe the same poems as 'complex stanza (AABA) using four- and two-stress lines', or 'quatrain employing four-stress lines, followed by a refrain in similar structure', or 'couplet employing eight-stress (non-*ochtfhoclach*) linear structure'.¹⁷ Further, the use of stanza-length as a classificatory device gives far too much weight, in the case of printed sources, to the work of a printer or editor; in the case of manuscript sources it similarly exaggerates the importance of such imponderables as the size of the paper or of the scribe's handwriting, or of the scribe's own judgement as regards poetic structure--or his lack of it. And, as I have already mentioned, the reflection of this classification system in the organisational structure of *Prosóid Gaedhilge* has led to a disproportionate amount of attention being focussed upon stanzaic structures which are far from typical and which may, in some cases, even be unique. As all of this implies, our own taxonomy will be based upon the analysis of linear rather than stanzaic structure, by which it is hoped to provide editors with a rather more precise means of discriminating between various forms of accentual versification.

Another feature of Ó Donnchadha's work--as well as that of later editors--which has led to considerable confusion is his veneration for ancient terminology. Terms used over the centuries to denote rhythmical (as opposed to syllabic) verse, such as '*amhrán*', were not necessarily intended to comprehend detailed metrical rules; and, as we have seen, Ó Donnchadha's use of this particular term as an organisational tool has created a metrical category so large as to be meaningless. Editors are thus deprived of any consistent and convenient means (short of providing a full-scale analysis, which most of them seem unwilling to do in any case) of differentiating between various sorts of '*amhrán*' metres, the term '*amhrán*' being applicable to verse containing anything from four to twelve stressed syllables

per period, or from two to twenty lines per stanza. Some editors have been unhappy with this, as evidenced by their use of '*ochtfhoclach*' or '*rócán*' to specify particular types of *amhrán* metre; others, however, may describe precisely the same metres as '*amhrán*'.¹⁸

Similarly, some of the terms borrowed from bardic versification are less than edifying. '*Comhfhuaim*', for instance, referred in Middle Irish to alliteration, not to vowel assonance; the term for the latter was '*amus*'. Ó Donnchadha, however, has seen fit to redefine both terms in order to deal with the two types of assonance found in accentual verse, i.e. 'horizontal' assonance involving adjoining stressed words in the same line, and 'vertical' assonance involving corresponding stressed syllables in consecutive lines. While some editors have seemingly accepted this redefinition--at least to the extent of using '*comhfhuaim*' to indicate some type of vowel assonance, rather than alliteration--others have not done so.¹⁹ This situation is another in which some clarification seems to be called for.

Other areas of difficulty in Ó Donnchadha's analytical model could be mentioned, including (a) the distinction between '*amhrán*' and other types of verse on musical grounds (does this imply that Ó Donnchadha thinks that *rosc*, *caoineadh*, and the fenian lay were not performed in a musical context?), and (b) his implication that syllabic irregularity (*cruachadh siollabh*) was a fault. Many of the deficiencies in Ó Donnchadha's approach, however, may ultimately be traceable to the nature of his sample. The poems he has chosen for analysis are nearly all by the great Munster poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a very few poets--Eoghan Rua, Aindrias Mac Craith, Seán Clárach, Tadhg Gaelach--feature quite disproportionately in his examples. Because of this, the reader is in danger of mistaking a highly-sophisticated poetic 'dialect' for the 'language' as a whole, and of regarding any poetry of lesser sophistication as somehow inferior, a falling from grace. We have not the smallest shred of evidence for supposing that Irish rhythmical verse sprang forth, fully-ornamented and syllabically-regularised, in the forms in which it was practiced in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Munster. In fact, the reverse proposition is far more likely to be the case, namely, that Irish accentual versification developed slowly, from the

roots upward, flourishing in particular splendour here and there, but never losing those basic characteristics which caused it to be so greatly valued by Irishmen of every degree and station. In my view it is those characteristics which should be the first objects of study, and that only when they are fully understood will the full innovative genius of the greatest Irish poets truly declare itself.

1 : NOTES

1. Cork, 1925; reprinted 1937. Ó Donnchadha subsequently published *Bhéarsaidheacht Gaedhilge* (Dublin, 1936), a handbook for students which contains substantially the same material in simplified and condensed form.
2. Ó Donnchadha's Irish terminology is given in brackets following what is deemed to be the 'most appropriate English equivalent. Of the two definitions given in Ó Dónaill's dictionary for *ceathrú*, 'quatrain' and 'verse' (as in *ceathrú ceoil*, 'verse of a song') the latter would seem most accurately to reflect Ó Donnchadha's intention. 'Verse' and 'stanza' are in this sense here used interchangeably.
3. This distinction between *comhfhuaime* and *amus* is made in *Bhéarsaidheacht Gaedhilge*, 17.
4. There would seem to be a potential ambiguity in the case of the symbol /ü/ which Ó Donnchadha has earlier chosen to represent the 'short unrounded' vowel. In fact the vowel /u/ seldom if ever occurs in monosyllables before these 'heavy' consonants. The editors of the *Nua-Dhuanaire* anthology, however, have chosen to avoid potential confusion by adopting the symbol /*i/ to indicate the 'short unrounded' vowel, simultaneously avoiding the suggestion of rounding which the symbol /ü/ necessarily implies; their usage has been adopted in the present work.
5. 1925:51. Unfortunately Ó Donnchadha never subsequently develops this point, nor does he indicate which types of poetry not already described he would not class as *amhrán*. He seems to regard as *amhrán* anything from the simplest four-line 'lyric' to complex stanzaic structures of up to twenty lines of verse--provided they are intended to be sung. The organisation of the latter half of the book, however, leaves one in some perplexity on this point, as stanzaic structures of five lines and over are treated separately, each under a heading similar to that under which he gives this description of *amhrán*.
6. In *Prosóid Gaedhilge* a disproportionate amount of space is devoted to stanza-structures which can in no way be considered typical, and this distinction is obscured; *Bhéarsaidheacht Gaedhilge*, however, clearly distinguishes between simple and complex stanzaic forms.
7. 1936:44-5. This proposal is discussed below, §§6.2.1 and 8.1.
8. 1925:63-4. Unfortunately Ó Donnchadha's organising principle in the latter half of *Prosóid Gaedhilge* (i.e. that of using the number of lines in the stanza as a taxonomical device) obscures the truth of this observation, by requiring that he catalogue under separate headings examples of *ochtfhoclach* written in two-, twelve-, and sixteen-line stanzas.
9. Munster poets fond of this metre include, in addition to Eoghan Rua, Pádraigín Haicéad, Séamas Ó Catháin, Aindrias Mac Craith,

and Dáibhidh ó Bruadair (see particularly the wonderful poem *Seirbhíseach seirgthe íogair srónach seasc*); the metre was particularly favoured for the composition of the poetic warrant (*barántas*) and, in general, for humorous pieces. In Ulster such poets as Peadar ó Doirnin (e.g. *Cáit Bhéilbhinn*), Art Mac Bionaid, Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondáin, Raghnaill Dall Mac Domhnaill and Art Mac Cumhaigh used the metre, which is not infrequently encountered in the final stanza of *trí rann agus amhrán* compositions. Examples by these and other poets will be considered in §8.2 below.

10. Other examples: ND 2:43 and 99; also RB:55, where in an otherwise excellent discussion of Bairéad's metres Nicholas Williams wrongly states that the first two lines of *Séamas ó Loinscigh* contain three stresses each, when in fact they contain four.
11. Other examples: AMB:38 (CL) and 89; SMC:43 (CL) and 83; ND 1:48 (ll. 49-52) and 117; ND 2:27 and 92.
12. See also ND 1:82 (no. 58) and 132.
13. See also ND 2:13 and 83. In another example (ND 2:6 and 79) Prof. ó Buachalla analyses as a seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* line one actually containing eight stresses; the unornamented penultimate stressed syllable in the line is left out of the reckoning.
14. Other examples: SMC:28 and 81; SMC:30 and 81; ND 2:63 (CL) and 109.
15. Other examples: ND 1:20 and 102, where the line actually has five stresses, not four; ND 1:44 (ll. 29-32) and 115, where a six-stress *croántacht*-type line has been mistaken for one of five stresses; ND 2:26 and 92, where another *croántacht*-type line is represented as containing only three stresses; and ND 3:39 and 92, where still another *croántacht*-type line is shown as containing four stresses.
16. There are a number of examples of four-stress lines in duple rhythm which have been mistaken for longer lines, possibly due in some cases to secondary stressed syllables being interpreted as primary stresses. These include: ND 1:88 and 135; ND 3:19 and 79; ND 3:33 and 88; ND 3:34 and 89. In another example (ND 3:46 and 96) an example of seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* metre in duple rhythm is represented as containing nine stressed syllables, due again to secondary stressed syllables in the first part of each line being interpreted as primary stresses. A few editors, however, have attempted to schematise rhythmical as well as ornamental features. Róis Ní ógáin (*Duanaire Gaedhilge*, 1921-30) and Micheál Breathnach (*Fíon na Filidheachta*, 1931) both employed a system which differed in a few respects from ó Donnchadha's, the most important of these being their attempt to generalise a pattern for a whole poem, rather than analyse every line of every stanza as ó Donnchadha's rules would seem to require. They generally did this by the simple expedient of choosing what they judged to be a representative stanza from the poem (not necessarily the first) and allowing an analysis of it to stand

for the whole. Seán de Rís in his edition of ó Doirnín's poems made a fleeting attempt to revive this practice (1969:115-8). For the most part, however, modern editors (de Rís included) seem content to account solely for the ornamental features of the stanza, and allow the unstressed (and even some of the unornamented stressed) syllables to fall where they may.

17. ND 3:25 (no.19) and 83; ND 3:60 and 100; and ND 3:62 (no. 61) and 101.
18. The term '*amhrán*' is seemingly used in place of '*caoineadh*' in CB:84 and 147 and in ND 2:55 and 105; in place of '*ochtfhoclach*' in SMC:70 and 91 and in ND 3:57 and 99; in place of '*crosántacht*' in ND 1:54 and 121; and even in place of '*rosc*' in ND 1:44 and 116 and in ND 2:1 and 75.
19. Editors apparently satisfied with the term '*comh(fh)uaim*' include de Rís (1969:113), ó Buachalla (CB:107-12), ó Gallchóir (SMC:82) and ó Concheanainn (ND 3:ix). T. S. ó Máille prefers the term '*amas*' in his article on the ornamentation of *caoineadh* metre (Éigse 9:1, 53 ff.), and he clearly means it to refer to internal line assonance; ó Concheanainn also uses the word '*amas*' (ND 3:ix), with reference to the placement of assonances within the line. Seosamh Mag Uidhir prefers '*comhshondas inmheánach*'--a term possibly of his own coinage which has the great virtue of defining itself (PML:60 *et passim*). Other editors avoid the problem by using words like '*patrún*' or '*gutaí*'.

2 : METRICAL MODELS

2.0 Having examined one particular approach to the problems posed by Irish accentual metre, that of Tadhg ó Donnchadha and his followers, we turn now to a brief consideration of the ways in which theorists have approached the problems of English versification down the centuries, in order to determine whether or not any such approach might be adaptable to the Irish context. The choice of English over some other European language is not as arbitrary as might at first appear, as there are--at least in matters of stress and rhythm--a good many points of *prima facie* correspondence between English and Irish as they are presently spoken; we shall be examining these in the next chapter.

I think most analysts would agree that there are four main schools of thought regarding English metrics: two of these--the approach based on classical prosody, and the approach usually described as 'temporalist'--are traditional approaches to the subject developed, on the whole, by students of literature; the other two approaches are based upon twentieth-century developments in the field of linguistics.

2.1 Classical prosody

The oldest theoretical approach to English metrics dates from the Renaissance, when interest in classical learning was revived throughout Europe by the humanist movement. The effect of this revival was twofold: on the one hand, poets like Sidney and Spenser attempted--with some transitory success--to compose quantitative verse in English in imitation of classical forms; on the other hand, the likes of George Gascoigne, Thomas Blennerhasset and William Webbe attempted for the first time to specify metrical rules for native English accentual verse, using the principles of classical prosody. But although the foundations of the approach were laid during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries that its theoretical basis was fully elaborated, and rules for the 'foot-scansion' of English poetry formulated.'

The term 'foot' is, of course, defined differently by a classical metrist than it is by a non-classicist; the latter category would include the likes of Tadhg ó Donnchadha, whose definition of the foot we discussed in the previous chapter. Classical prosody originally distinguished between 'long' and 'short' syllables, a distinction latterly replaced in the English context by the definition of syllables as either 'stressed' or 'unstressed' (there being, it would seem, no half-way position between the two). Various types of feet are defined, depending upon the number and arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables within them: thus a *trochee* is a disyllabic foot consisting of a stressed syllable followed by an unstressed one, thus (/ ˈ ˘ /), while an *iamb* consists of the opposite arrangement, the unstressed syllable preceding the stressed one (/ ˘ ˈ /). One type of verse is distinguished from another according to the type of foot it predominantly contains, and according to the number of feet per line: thus *iambic pentameter* indicates a line containing five iambic feet. The system further distinguishes between binary and ternary metres, depending upon whether the foot contains two syllables or three. Feet longer than three syllables are not recognised as primary types.

The principal difficulty in analysing English verse according to classical criteria--or, at any rate, the principal difficulty acknowledged by classical metrists--is that English poets rarely stick to a single type of foot throughout a poem, preferring to vary the prevailing rhythmic pattern to suit their artistic requirements. To account for this practice the classical approach has made much of the theory of 'substitution' or 'inversion' invented by Greek metrists, a theory which allows a foot in the prevailing metre to be replaced by one of differing construction. Thus the first two lines of Shakespeare's thirtieth sonnet might be scanned by the classical prosodist as follows (the interpretation is my own):

/ ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ /
 When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
 ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ /
 I summon up remembrance of things past

The prevailing rhythm of the sonnet is iambic, but each of these lines contains a pyrrhic substitution followed by a spondaic (i.e. a foot containing two unstressed syllables, followed by a foot containing two consecutive stresses), and the first foot of the first line is a trochee.

The classical approach has not, on the whole, proved an altogether appropriate one for the analysis of English verse. Specific weaknesses would include, for example, the need to label as 'hypermetrical' any syllable failing to fit into the scheme chosen by the metrist, e.g. the unstressed syllable at the end of a line of iambic pentameter which happens to possess a feminine rather than a masculine ending. Another difficulty is that of choosing, on occasion, between iambic and trochaic scansion--a difficulty which should of itself raise doubts about the adequacy of the metrical theory. Most significantly for our purposes, there is the fact that while the classical approach may, with certain modifications, be made applicable to what we may call 'literary' verse in English--verse in which the number of syllables in the line is to a large extent regularised and which some have termed 'syllabic-accentual' verse--it is totally inadequate in dealing with purely accentual poetry, such as a great deal of popular verse, in which such syllabic regularisation may only minimally have taken place.

The classical approach thus describes English metre on two levels: that of the underlying prevailing metre of the whole poem, and that of the actual pronunciation of individual lines, which may--even should--contain feet of different construction in order to vary the underlying pattern and prevent the metre becoming tedious. Whether or not classical prosodists deserve to be credited with subtlety in evolving such a theory is, however, a matter for debate. It may be true, as Attridge suggests, that 'this picture of two levels, partly coinciding, partly conflicting, reflects what in fact happens as we read metrical verse, and reveals one source of its

special character' (1982:9). I do not believe, however, that English classical metrists set out with the intention of revealing any such thing, and if they have done so it has happened more by accident than by design, as a by-product of their successive attempts to fit English versification into a frame of reference too narrow for it. For rather than taking account of the greatest possible number of rhythmic patterns within the simplest possible theoretical framework, the classical approach--exercising the tyranny of meaningless foot-boundaries and expressing itself in terms like 'inversion', 'substitution', 'hypermetrical' and so forth--suggests that the dynamic rhythmical variability so essential to the character of English verse should be regarded as somehow deviant. The inescapable fact is that classical prosody, devised originally by classical theorists to illuminate the aesthetic intentions of classical poets, embodies entirely different values and principles from those which have dominated English poetry down the centuries, and thus can have but little to reveal about the nature of English verse. If it has latterly been shown capable of revealing the 'deep structure' of a certain amount of English verse, the credit must be given not to the English classical theorists, but rather to those who recognised the possibility that there might be such a thing as 'deep structure' in the first place. The mysteries of deep structural analysis will, in any event, be penetrable only by those with the necessary training in linguistics, and must remain a closed book to the general reader seeking basic information about the metre of a given poem.

For the latter, while it may be possible (at least for the comparatively strict traditions of syllabic-accentual verse in English) to scan lines according to the system's rules, such a procedure can produce little more than a mild delight in puzzle-solving--rather like those games which require one to roll tiny ball-bearings into small dents on a flat surface, to make a picture. Unfortunately the picture, in this case, is quite non-representational: as a means to discovering the artistic intentions of the majority of English poets the classical approach is of only limited use.

2.2 The temporalist approach

Nearly as old, in the English context, as the classical theory of metre is that of the temporalists. The first theorist to make a clean break with the classical tradition in the direction of temporal analysis was Joshua Steele, whose *Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech* (latterly known as *Prosodia Rationalis*, the title of the second edition of 1779) was published first in 1775. Steele's main object was to describe the rhythmic and intonational features of the speech of one individual (the actor David Garrick), to which end he developed a complex set of notational symbols. Steele's application, within this context, of the same principles to the analysis of verse subsequently exerted a profound influence on the study of metre.²

Prosodists who found the rhythmical choices allowed by the classical system rather limiting sought to develop a theory of rhythm which would more gracefully submit to the rhythmical realities of English versification. The temporalist approach, as its name suggests, describes verse structure in terms of time-relationships. These are defined by the overall rhythmic shape of successive lines of verse: as time is abstractly measured in seconds (or in heartbeats), or as a footpath is measured by the length of one's stride, so the length of a line of rhythmical verse is measured by the perceptibly regular occurrence of accented syllables within it. As English verse is, in the main, demonstrably rhythmical, and as rhythm is a phenomenon which occurs in the dimension of time, the temporalists see their approach as accounting most satisfactorily for the basic experience of verse, whether creative (i.e. that of the composer or reciter) or empathetic (i.e. that of the listener or reader).

Like the classicists, the temporalists have sought to understand the poetic line as a series of segments bearing some important relationship to one another. But whereas the classicists concentrated in the first instance on the internal conformation of the 'foot', and sought to identify the rhythm of a poem as basically iambic, anapestic or what-have-you, the temporalists were initially more concerned with establishing the basic durational equivalence of one stress-group to

others in the same utterance, and less troubled by variation in the number of syllables per stress-group.³ The stress-groups themselves (variously called 'measures', 'cadences', 'bars' or 'feet' by different authors) are the basic rhythmical units of the line: each begins with a stressed syllable, and includes all of the unstressed syllables between that syllable and the next stressed syllable. All stress-groups are perceived to be periodic, that is, of more-or-less equal duration, regardless of the number of syllables they contain.

A number of authors have sought to verify their perception of periodicity of stress-groups in verse by investigating the rhythm of ordinary speech or prose. Most writers in this tradition, from Steele onwards, have drawn a connexion between the two. This century, however, has produced a number of laboratory-based studies--using kymograph, sound spectograph, and other instrumental means--which have attempted to test the case for stress-timing and measure precisely the durational relationships between syllables when read or spoken.⁴ The one important fact to emerge from these and other studies is that such precise durational relationships--whether between syllables within a stress-group, or between stress-groups themselves--do not, empirically, exist. This lack of empirical evidence has constituted one of the principal excuses given by non-temporalists for dismissing temporalist theory, although it is far from clear that tests for strict equality-relationships bear much relevance to what may be valid when judged according to cognitive/phenomenological criteria.








Central to all of these investigations of periodicity has been the notion of what Kenneth Pike (1945) was the first to call 'stress-timing', a notion which has been of enormous importance to the temporalist argument. What is meant by 'stress-timing' can be illustrated by a simple test: read the following sentence aloud, tapping your finger in time with the strong 'beats':

I was bitten in the leg by a huge bulldog yesterday.

The time-interval between 'bit-' and 'leg'--separated by three unstressed syllables--is perceived by both speaker and listener as being no greater than that between 'huge' and 'bull-', whatever empirical

evidence might suggest to the contrary. And it is this perceived temporal equality which, the argument goes, provides a stable background for the rich rhythmical variability of English verse--functioning, in fact, rather like the rhythmical pulse in music.⁵

The musical analogy is perhaps particularly apt in this case, for just as the classicists were guided in their researches by the model of Greek and Latin metrics, so has a great deal of temporalist theory from Steele onwards been developed with reference to musical forms. The notion that the poetic line consists of 'bars' of equivalent length is obviously one consistent with a musical analysis; similarly the idea of 'anacrusis', the 'upbeat' unaccented syllable/s leading up to the first fully-accented syllable (the 'downbeat') in the line, is probably a borrowed one. In addition, however, some temporalists have followed the musical analogy even further in order to explain or even to specify time-relationships among syllables within individual stress-groups.⁶ They argue that, just as the internal rhythmic structure of a bar of music must consist of a combination of semi-breves, crotchets, quavers and so forth, so also may the internal conformation of a stress-group in verse be more-or-less precisely defined in durational terms. David Abercrombie, for example, proposes that in a disyllabic 'foot' (his term) the relationship between the syllables may be expressed by one of three simple arithmetical ratios, thus:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------------------|--|---|---|--|---|--|
| (a) | 1:2 | /'shilling'/ | |  |  | | | |
| (b) | 2:1 | /'tea for / two'/ | |  |  | |  | |
| (c) | 1½:1½ | /'limpid'/ | |  |  | | 7 | |

Others resist this sort of thing, however, and would tend to agree with Attridge that the reality of stress-timing in verse 'does not...imply that the syllables occurring within those intervals are of any particular duration; if there are two syllables...they may divide the time in any proportion and still fulfil the demands of isochrony' (1982:23). The internal description of a stress-group is, according to these scholars, a wholly subjective matter: readings of a line may vary according to a number of different criteria, and it would be wrong to suggest that one might be objectively graded 'better' than

another. Furthermore, they argue, attempts to quantify these internal relationships--whether by the use of numerical formulae or by the use of musical notation in general--are dangerous in their implication that time-relationships in verse have some sort of empirical (as opposed to perceptual or psychological) reality. It would seem, therefore, that some sort of compromise is called for here, such as perhaps designating Abercrombie's categories as simply 'short-long', 'long-short' and 'equal-equal' (terms Abercrombie himself suggests), without going to the length of assigning specific durational values to each syllable: this would avoid the charge of being too prescriptive without sacrificing what may still be a useful insight in phenomenological terms.

The temporalist approach, for all that it has been perhaps too passionately--even emotionally--put forward by some of its advocates, has much to recommend it. It provides a functional and flexible descriptive model for the analysis of those aspects of English rhythmical verse which may be called artistic, rather than linguistic, i.e. those techniques of versification consciously employed by poets, rather than those features of poetry (as of prose) which arise willy-nilly out of the nature of the language itself, whether the poet be in conscious control of them or not. For this reason it is, in the context of a stress-timed language, the most accessible theory of metre to the layman, and thus to the majority of those who create or experience verse. It takes as its starting-point the natural rhythm of the language in which the verse is composed, and proceeds from this on a phenomenological basis to describe features readily discernible to the ear. As a theory it may be said to be particularly appropriate for the study of orally-composed or folk poetry, as its rules are not so strict as to limit its applicability to the context of syllabic-accentual verse; additionally, the musical analogy upon which it is largely based may make it an appropriate tool for investigating verse composed to be sung. It constitutes, in the main, a good general-purpose working theory of English metre, providing answers to those whose questions concern the interpretation of poetry, the understanding of a poet's artistic intentions, rather than to those whose interests lie in the perfecting of a metrical theory *per se*.

2.3 The structuralist approach


While the traditional approaches to English metrics continue to attract adherents, the past thirty years have witnessed the explosive emergence of two new schools of thought on the subject, both based upon contemporary advances in the field of linguistics. Metrics has always been something of a border area on the edge of literary analysis, marking a boundary between the domain of the litterateur and that of somebody else--the classical scholar, the musician, or, most recently, the linguistic investigator. In the first two cases, classical-inspired metrics and musical theory may be seen as more-or-less useful analogies, as starting-points for the elucidation of metre in the context of English poetry. The third case, however, is not quite so clear; and for this reason most recent contributions to the discussion have to be evaluated in light of what is known about the principal interests of the writer, i.e. is he primarily concerned with what a theory of metre may contribute to an appreciation of poetry *qua* literature, or is he rather more interested in what such a theory may demonstrate about the wider workings of language? What follows is, of necessity, the most cursory and oversimplified summary of the two main linguistic approaches to English metrical studies.

The first of these approaches has its ultimate origins in Bloomfieldian structuralism, but the particular catalyst which led to the application of structuralist theory to the study of metrics was the publication in 1951 of *An Outline of English Structure* by G. L. Trager and H. L. Smith, Jr. Trager and Smith posit the existence of a number of suprasegmental phonemes, among them four distinct stress phonemes, determined by the phonological structure of the language and distinguished from one another in terms of loudness, thus primary (´), secondary (˘), tertiary (˙), and weak (). Their famous example is that of the locution élevàtor-ôperàtor, which pronunciation they compare with élevàtor-ôperàtor, the latter containing an element of contrastive emphasis (i.e. the person is not an elevator mechanic). This notion was naturally seen to carry enormous implications for the study of metre, traditional views of which had always assumed a simple binary distinction between 'stress' and 'non-stress'.


Metrists building on Trager and Smith's analysis⁸ contend that recognition of two intermediate stress levels in addition to 'primary' and 'weak' enables the analyst objectively to describe the realisation of a metrical pattern in a manner far superior to that practiced either by classicists (whose system allows only the stress/non-stress distinction) or by temporalists (whose approach is too impressionistic and too dependent upon objectively unverifiable durational judgements). For example, we recall the classical scansion of the first line of Shakespeare's thirtieth sonnet, with its trochaic, pyrrhic and spondaic substitutions:

$\text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / }$
 When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
 ($\text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / }$)

(The scansion within brackets represents the 'ideal' metrical pattern--the 'abstraction' as Wimsatt and Beardsley put it--with which, it is argued, the 'realised' pattern is in a relationship characterised by tension.) The temporalist, listening to relative syllabic lengths rather than to degrees of stress, would possibly analyse the same line thus:


 /When to the / sessions of / sweet / silent / thought

or alternatively, if he heard the line as in duple rather than in triple rhythm, thus:


 /When to the / sessions of / sweet / silent / thought

The structuralist, meanwhile, would come up with a scansion something like this:⁹

$\text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / } \quad \text{ } \text{ / }$
 When to / the ses/sions of / sweet si/lent thought
 ($\text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / }$)
 ($\text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / } \text{ } \text{ / }$)

(As the lower two scansion indicate, the structuralists superimpose their rendering of the line on the foot-divisions of classical prosody.¹⁰) To the structuralist, this method of analysis is preferable to that of the temporalists in stressing the accentual, rather than the quantitative, nature of English poetry; and it is preferable to the classical approach in giving a more minute account of stress-features than the latter makes possible. In short, structuralists see in the new approach a means of arriving at a 'mechanism by which we decide how to scan a line, so that we may replace intuition (no matter how perceptive) with procedure' (Chatman 1965:14).

With the advent of generative theories of language, structuralism has fallen from favour. The passion for description and categorisation which largely characterises the structuralist approach is now regarded as somewhat futile by those linguists more interested in the inner whys and wherefores of language than in its external manifestations. The fortunes of structuralist metrics have similarly declined: what is the good (say the new men) of evolving a complicated set of hierarchies to describe a single recitation of a line of verse, when one could be going about discovering the underlying 'rules' which allowed that line of verse (and all others recognisably in the same metre) to be composed in the first place?

In practical terms it is certainly fair to call structuralist metrics unwieldy: understanding of any of the main contributions to this tradition requires that the reader be familiar with the linguistic background (a fact which puts such contributions beyond the reach of all but the most academically-inclined readers of verse) and be willing to deal with sophisticated diacritical notations. The amount of disagreement among structuralist metrists (as among so many linguists) is also bewildering to the non-specialist, especially as so much of it occurs at the most basic levels. Scholars cannot agree, for example, whether all four degrees of stress postulated by Trager and Smith are phonemic or not;¹¹ neither, it would seem, can they decide whether there is, in fact, a level of 'abstraction' which should be dealt with, or whether the definition of any metre is simply a matter, as Chatman proposes, of arriving at the 'sum or common denominator' of all acceptable lines.¹² I think it fair comment to

say that investigators in the structuralist tradition are more interested in the theory of metre than in its practice, that is, they are principally concerned to design a consistent theoretical construct which will encompass as much detail as possible. This is their prerogative, as linguists. Such a state of affairs does not, however, particularly well serve the interests of those whose primary interest in metrics is of a more practical nature--editors, for example; nor does it much help the intelligent layman whose orientation is toward the aesthetic qualities of poetry, rather than toward the phonological character of the language in which it is composed.

This much having been said, I think it would be unfair not to acknowledge that the example of structuralist metrics has exerted a tremendous influence for good upon the field as a whole. The most cursory examination of metrical literature of the past thirty years will demonstrate that structuralist investigators have made a significant contribution, chiefly in requiring that metrical studies be undertaken with greater objectivity and with reference to related fields of enquiry (e.g. linguistics, psychology). Thus we find even those whose basic orientation is traditional exploring new territory, seeking objective means of testing their own impressions, and generally bringing the traditional approaches up to date, if not into fashion.

2.4 Generative metrics

As structuralist metrics fell out of favour it was replaced by the generative approach. The latter, of course, has its ultimate origins in and draws its inspiration from the seminal work in generative phonology which appeared in 1968, *The Sound Pattern of English* by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle. As we suggested a moment ago, the generative approach concerns itself with the actual audible 'performance' of a line only at the end of a long chain of enquiries into what has made that particular line possible in the first place: to a generativist, the main object is to discover the underlying 'rules' enabling a native speaker of a language implicitly to recognise certain lines as belonging to a given category (say, iambic



pentameter), while excluding other lines from that category. Such rules are said to 'generate' the verse, and if they can be adequately formulated they will, it is argued, account for every single line which a native speaker may identify as iambic pentameter, while at the same time allowing into the category no line which would not be so identified. Thus, instead of working backwards from the speech-event as the structuralists do, gathering and describing performance-instances in sufficient quantities to enable themselves to come to a consensus about the metrical structure, the generativists prefer to work intuitively, testing and reshaping their rules against the linguistically and metrically instinctive judgements of native speakers.

Chomsky and Halle having devoted considerable attention to the phenomenon of stress in English, the generative approach has had considerable attractions for scholars dissatisfied with the superficiality of the structuralist model. Among the most important early contributions to a generative model for metrics were those of Halle (Chomsky's collaborator) and S. J. Keyser, whose work culminated in the joint publication in 1971 of *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, Its Role in Verse*.¹³ Halle and Keyser postulate two basic elements to account for any metre: an 'abstract metrical pattern' (reminiscent of the 'abstraction' or 'ideal' or 'verse-design' level posited by other writers) and a set of 'correspondence rules' setting forth in what ways the abstract pattern may be realised in practice while yet remaining acceptable as a variant of that abstraction. Here, for example, is how they summarise the rules for iambic pentameter:¹⁴

(a) **Abstract Metrical Pattern**

(W) *S WS WS WS WS (X) (X)

where elements enclosed in parentheses may be omitted and where each X position may be occupied only by an unstressed syllable

(b) **Correspondence Rules**

(i) A position (S, W, or X) corresponds to a single syllable or to a sonorant sequence incorporating at most two vowels (immediately adjoining or separated by a sonorant consonant [l, m, n, r])

DEFINITION: When a fully-stressed syllable occurs between two unstressed syllables in the same syntactic constituent within a line of verse, this syllable is called a 'stress maximum'.

(ii) Fully-stressed syllables occur in S positions only and in all S positions; or fully-stressed syllables occur in S positions only but not in all S positions; or Stress maxima occur in S positions only but not in all S positions.

(Note that, as far as stress is concerned, only two types of syllables are posited, i.e. 'fully-stressed' syllables and 'unstressed' syllables. The former include the main stressed syllables of nouns, verbs, adjectives; the latter include all unstressed syllables of such words, as well as clitics such as articles, prepositions, conjunctions, clitic adverbs and auxiliary verbs [1971:145 n. 3].) As an example of the simpler type of iambic pentameter Halle and Keyser cite the first line of Gray's *Elegy*:

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day
 W S W S W S W S W S
 (W S W S W S W S W S)

In this line the realisation obeys the first option under each of the two correspondence rules, thus making it an explicit illustration of the abstract pattern (in brackets). The following line by Donne, however, requires that the second option of correspondence rule (i) be invoked:

Yet dearly I love you and would be lovèd fain
 W S W S W W W S W S
 (W S W S W S W S W W)

In addition, 'would' (which as a verbal auxiliary cannot, by their reckoning, be fully-stressed) occupies a strong position, which fact must be explained by the second option of rule (ii). They give another example illustrating this latter rule (also from Gray's *Elegy*):

And leaves the world to darkness and to me
 W S W S W S W W W W (sic)
 (W S W S W S W S W S)

In this case (even more than in the case of 'would' above, though there also) one begins to wonder if their definition of stressed vs. unstressed syllables is not rather more necessary to the consistency of their theory than it is true to the reality of iambic pentameter: I can conceive of no valid recitation of the latter line which would not give the same degree of stress to 'me' as to 'dark-'.

It is also possible, they allege, to find fully-stressed syllables occupying weak positions--so long as these are not bracketed by unstressed syllables occupying strong positions, thus constituting a 'stress maximum' (rule [iil, third option). Our line from Shakespeare's thirtieth sonnet provides an illustration:

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
 S W W S W W S S W S
 (W S W S W S W S W W)

'When' and 'sweet' both occupy positions designated as weak, but because neither of them constitutes a stress maximum the line is successful. The following, however, is unmetrical as a result of the stress-maximum on 'Percy':

Ode to the West Wind by Percy Bysshe Shelly
 S W W S S W S W S S W
 (W S W S W S W S W S X)

Admittedly, the line does not have a very rhythmical ring to it. Neither, however, does the following, suggested by Attridge (1982:41):

Ode to the West Wind by James Elroy Flecker
 S W W S S W S S W S W
 (W S W S W S W S W S X)

Here the stress-maximum has been avoided, thus making the line metrical according to Halle and Keyser's criteria. Clearly there is something the matter with a theory which will admit such a line as poetry (or is it, possibly, simply the banality of the line which makes the reader rebel at it?). Even more serious, however, is the fact that Halle and Keyser's theory fails to do what they claim for

it, i.e. account for all lines recognisable as iambic pentameter. They give the following line from a sonnet by Keats:

How many bards gild the lapses of time
 S W W S S W S W W S
 (W S W S W S W S W S)

The first syllable of 'lapses' constitutes a stress-maximum, and thus according to the rules should not be allowed: nevertheless the line is clearly metrical. The authors attempt to gloss over the anomaly by suggesting that Keats meant 'lapses' to illustrate his meaning in the poem by intimating a 'lapse' in the metre; but, as Attridge has pointed out, this explanation simply does not bear close scrutiny (1982:42).

The idea of developing a set of 'rules' which will explain how and why we distinguish the poetic use of language from that of prose is a very alluring one, and (in spite of what some critics of generative metrics hopefully declare) it is probably one which will continue to attract students of metrics for a little while yet--at least, until the notion of generative phonology gets a knock on the head from which it cannot recover. It must be admitted, however, that the theories of generative metrics so far advanced (and this includes those of other theorists in addition to those adhering to the Halle-Keyser model) have not been markedly successful; and though one may remain hopeful that some scholar may yet produce the key to this intriguing puzzle, the verdict on generative metrics must, in the meantime, be 'not proven'.

2.5 A theoretical model for the present study

The business of choosing a model for this study of Irish rhythmical verse has been one principally of deciding what the final object of the study was--or was not--to be. Given the present state of confusion affecting editorial practice it would appear that the most urgent need is for a thorough description and taxonomy of Irish metres, rather than for a detailed linguistic investigation into why certain metrical features appear in the Irish context. This is

not to say that the latter question will be totally ignored: indeed, the types of poetry favoured by Irish poets cannot be meaningfully described or understood without reference to the nature of the language in which such poetry is composed. At the same time, however, it is felt that to indulge in a detailed examination of linguistic aspects of versification in the absence of a comprehensive taxonomical survey would be to some extent to place the cart before the horse.

Both of the linguistic approaches to metrics which I have just so baldly summarised may, I think, be said to represent this analytical (as opposed to descriptive) stage; both of them build, rightly or wrongly, upon the classificatory foundations laid by the classical metrical tradition, and in this sense they have a ready-made frame of reference to which their theories may be seen to relate. Irish has no such frame of reference for accentual verse--or, at least, none that can be shown to be satisfactory. For these reasons it would appear that neither of the two linguistic approaches will really meet our present needs. Of the traditional approaches, the classical model is as unsuitable for Irish as I have argued that it is for English--or more so. The classical approach may, superficially at least, seem adequate to explicate English literary verse-forms since such verse is generally syllabic-accentual, and since English poets generally keep the same number of syllables to the foot as defined by classical metrics, however the stresses within those feet may arrange themselves. In Irish, however, the most sophisticated as well as the most untutored poets commonly allocate different numbers of syllables to successive feet in the same line; in addition, as we shall shortly see, they subdivide the line into two- and three-foot phrase lengths. Both of these characteristics would be extremely difficult to deal with according to classical criteria. In any case, whatever constructs are used to demonstrate the structure of Irish verse should, it seems to me, be suggested by the character of the verse itself, by features easily distinguishable to the ear of a reasonably perceptive layman, rather than being imposed *ex machina*.

This leaves the temporalist approach. As I argued above, this approach, although not without its faults, provides a good working theory of metre to the student whose main aim is to discover the basic

structural and ornamental features of verse--those features, in short, in the conscious control of the poet. It has shown itself, in the English context, suitable for the metrical analysis of folk-poetry and of verse composed to be sung, neither of which types of poetry have to any extent been elucidated by any of the other approaches.¹⁵ In addition, the temporalist model would seem to be a suitable one for Irish verse in that the Irish language, as well as being as strongly stress-timed as is English (a fact which we shall attempt to demonstrate in the next chapter) also contains phonemically-definable long and short syllables. Thus it may be possible to discuss the internal conformation of the stress-group (in terms of relative syllabic quantities) more convincingly than has perhaps been possible for English.

This having been said, the reader will doubtless notice in what follows that not all of the theoretical constructs used originate with the temporalists. The methodological advances of the last thirty years, which I believe should largely be credited to the linguists, have yielded important insights regarding the nature of rhythm and its perception that it would be quite unproductive to ignore. And as these insights do much to counter those aspects of temporalist metrics which have been labelled 'impressionistic', it is hoped that a combination of the two approaches in this manner may not be wholly unsuccessful.

2.6 The sample chosen for this study

As I argued at the end of the last chapter, a substantial weakness of ó Donnchadha's account of Irish versification lay in the narrowness of his sample. In considering the sample upon which the present study should be based I have tried not to repeat this shortcoming, and to this end have been at some pains

- (a) to include examples covering as wide as possible a chronological span (i.e. from the sixteenth century to the twentieth);
- (b) to include a sizeable proportion (well over half the items) of poems of no known or attributable

authorship. A number of these may be of less than sterling value by comparison with works by the greatest poets (indeed, many works by named poets would not benefit from such a comparison either), and many of them are naive; but even the lamest of them must, in the nature of things, fulfil certain basic metrical requirements in order to be recognisable as verse. And as I have argued before, a thorough appreciation of these most basic metrical principles is necessary if we wish ultimately to distinguish the brilliant innovations of the greatest poets from those features long present in popular verse.

- (c) to include a substantial number of poems from each of the main provinces in which Irish has latterly been spoken, i.e. Munster, Ulster and Connacht. As Appendices A and B demonstrate, it has not been possible to achieve even rough equality in this respect: over 40% of the sample is of Munster origin, some 32% comes from the northern province and approximately 23% from Connacht, the remainder consisting of a few poems originating in Leinster and a number of poems found in more than one province. This result was dictated by several factors: (i) the availability of a substantially greater amount of Munster verse in printed editions of both early and recent date; (ii) the absence from the province of Connacht of any tradition of poetry equivalent to that of the Oirialla poets of South-East Ulster/North Leinster, or of the various rich Munster traditions; and (iii) the fact that such Connacht collections as are available contain a large amount of duplication.

Guided by these general principles I have compiled a sample of some 1279 items. Sources for these have been collections and editions, dating from this century and from the last, of both anonymous poetry and poetry of attributable authorship (see Appendix C). No use has been made of manuscript sources, for the reason that most if not all of the editions consulted were themselves compiled from manuscript collections edited by reputable scholars; in addition it was felt, rightly as it turned out, that the difficulties encountered by those editors in dealing with questions of metre would themselves reveal areas worthy of particular attention in our own study. It was judged that quite sufficient numbers of such editions were available to provide a sample which would reveal all of the major distinctive features of Irish accentual verse.

In order to ensure that the choice of items for the sample was sufficiently random, so as not to prejudice the results, we have wherever possible included every item from a given source, barring obvious fragments and duplicates of items collected elsewhere. The only exception to this principle has been made in the case of editions of poems by a single author, where a more limited number (normally between ten and twenty items) from each has been chosen in order that no single poet should seem to be overrepresented in the sample. In the case of items duplicated in more than one collection choice has been dictated primarily by aesthetic criteria, the fullest or most interesting version being selected. Where two versions of a poem differ substantially from one another, either in presenting different metrical features or in containing other significant textual variation it has on a very few occasions been thought appropriate to include both variants.

Because we have not, except in these few cases, discriminated among items in a particular source on any sort of aesthetic or other qualitative grounds it is admittedly the case that certain items in the sample are of very dubious literary worth, while poems of undoubted value may, in the nature of things, have been omitted. This state of affairs is, I think, justified in the interest of obtaining a sample whose contents are dictated by principles which have nothing to do with metrics. G. R. Stewart, introducing the sample used in his own study of ballad metres, remarks in this connexion:

...No effort has been made to scrutinise very carefully the canon. The battle of the ballads is not our battle. Trojan and Tyrian are alike to the metrist. Be a poem a Christmas carol, song, border ballad, minstrel ballad, or ballad *par excellence* there is no necessary peculiarity of its meter.... In general examples can be drawn indiscriminately from any of the different types (1925:933).

Implied in this would seem to be the suggestion that poetry need not be of high artistic merit in other respects in order to contain information of value to the metrist. And I think we may further posit that the relationship between metre and artistic worth is in some respects parallel to that between sound and sense in the linguistic

context: just as the sounds making up a word, and indeed the word itself, have nothing *intrinsically* to do with the significance of the word for the hearer (the latter being based upon associations of a not necessarily verbal nature), so also I think we should admit that the semantic and emotional content of a poem is essentially quite separate from the vehicle through which that content is expressed, i.e. the poem's sound system. The medium is *not* the message. This is not to say that the sound system of verse may not reinforce whatever response the poet intends to the meaning of the poem--but this response occurs in the mind of the hearer and depends upon many associations external to the content of the verse. That the relationship between sound and sense in verse is not a symbiotic one is attested by the fact that beautifully metrical verse may nevertheless be artistically banal or conventional, whilst (in our own age, at least) fine poetry may be very irregular in the matter of versification.

It remains to offer a brief explanation of how the sample, once selected, was dealt with. Initially each individual poem was examined in order to determine the basic facts about its linear structure, stanzaic structure, rhythm, ornamentation, and any other features of interest, such as whether or not it possessed a refrain. Details of this examination were then summarised on a five-by-eight-inch card, on which were also recorded the title of the poem, information regarding the poem's authorship (if known) and provenance, and a representative stanza of the text.¹⁶ When the sample was complete the details on these cards were computer-coded and typed into the VAX on-line computer system at the University of Ulster. With the generous help of the computer centre staff it was then possible to obtain lists from which the information summarised in Appendices A and B could be extracted.

2 : NOTES

1. Important contributions to the classical approach in this century include those of Saintsbury (1910), Lascelles Abercrombie (1923), Hamer (1930), Wimsatt and Beardsley (1959), Shapiro and Beum (1960), Malof (1970) and Fussell (1979). A useful summary of the approach (as well as of the other main theoretical approaches to English metrics) is contained in Attridge (1982:4-18).
2. Writers in the mainstream of the temporal tradition include Patmore (1857--his *Essay on English Metrical Law* remains one of the clearest expositions of the temporalist approach), Lanier (1880), Omond (1905, 1920, 1921), Sapir (1921), Thomson (1923), Croll (1929), Stewart (1930), Classe (1939), and, more recently, David Abercrombie (1956 a/b/c/, 1971, 1976), Halliday (1967), Albrow (1968), Leech (1969), and Sumera (1970).
3. I use the rather cumbersome 'stress-group' to avoid confusion with the classicists' 'foot' in the present context. The stress-group is, of course, identical to ó Donnchadha's *céim* which we earlier translated 'foot', and we shall be returning to the latter term, with the same definition, in subsequent chapters.
4. Such studies include those of Brown (1908), Snell (1918-19), Classe (1939), Shen and Peterson (1962), Bolinger (1965), O'Connor (1965), G. D. Allen (1968, 1972), Uldall (1971), and Boomsliter, Creel and Hastings (1973).
5. The experiment performed by Boomsliter, Creel and Hastings (cf. preceding note) would seem to provide some empirical justification for this observation.
6. See Jones (1918 and later editions), D. Abercrombie (1965b), Halliday (1967).
7. 1965b:29-31. He also suggests phonological rules governing each of the three types.
8. Important contributions to the structuralist model since Trager and Smith include those of Whitehall (1951), Chatman (1956, 1960, 1965), Epstein and Hawkes (1959), Jakobson (1960), Fowler (1966a, b, 1968) and Fraser (1970).
9. Trager and Smith's notation, used as suggested by Roger Fowler (1966b:137-8).
10. This combination of classical prosody and structuralist classificatory techniques has not been an entirely happy one: Attridge (1982:32-3) points to an example given by Wimsatt and Beardsley (1959:593-4) which makes nonsense of both systems. They attempt to 'prove' the existence of iambic feet in English verse by giving the following scansion:

/ ~ \ ^ / ~
 Hail / to thee, / blithe Spi/rit

They argue that in both 'to thee' and 'blithe Spi-' the iambic relationship between a weak and a strong stress is maintained. Unfortunately they neglect to explain the resulting 'crescendo' (tertiary to secondary stress) over the foot-boundary between 'thee' and 'blithe', where one's normal expectation would be for 'thee' to embody a greater degree of stress than 'blithe', rather than a lesser.

11. Chatman regards the secondary and tertiary degrees as non-phonemic and says of the 'elevator-operator' type of example: 'the important fact about syllables with non-phonemic prominence is that they do not carry the potential for accent [i.e. for a primary intonational feature] except in the special case of "elucidational contrast"' (1965:70).
12. Chatman, whilst never explicitly disagreeing with the idea of what Jakobson termed 'verse design' states that it is his business to define 'verse instance' through examination of all meaningful 'delivery instances' (i.e. individual readings) of a line: 'It is but one logical step...to recognise the verse instance as a sum or common denominator of all meaningful delivery instances, a hypothesis which underlies much of my own theory of meter' (1965:96). Roger Fowler has, however, rightly pointed out that Chatman's actual procedures for arriving at a statistically significant number of delivery instances (and thus at the 'sum or common denominator' of those instances) are unclear (1966b:130), and to this extent Chatman's theory carries with it the faint odour of what David Abercrombie has called a linguistic 'pseudo-procedure'.
13. Many scholars have contributed substantially to the Halle-Keyser model, including Joseph C. Beaver, Donald C. Freeman, Dudley Hascall, Samuel R. Levin, R. P. Newton and Peter Wilson; others, like Karl Magnuson and Frank G. Ryder, David Chisholm, and Paul Kiparsky, have preferred to follow other roads to the same Rome (for references see the excellent bibliography in Attridge [1982]). For the sake of brevity I shall here confine my discussion to the Halle-Keyser model and a few of the standard reactions to it.
14. Halle and Keyser (1971), 1969. S stands for 'strong', W for 'weak'; an asterisk indicates an item which, if omitted, will increase the line's complexity.
15. See, for example, G. R. Stewart's excellent study of 'The meter of the popular ballad', *PMLA* 40, 933-62 (1925).
16. In the case of poems containing more than one type of metre a number of cards was made out, one for each type of metre exemplified; thus in the alphabetical listing the reader will note, for example, several entries under *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*, *Is olc an ceart*, *An Dreoilín*, etc.

3 : THE RHYTHM OF IRISH VERSE

3.0 Verse may be reckoned to differ from prose and from ordinary speech in being measured in some regular pattern. This measurement is a time measurement, and it implies units of time which are so organised as to present a pattern in which the hearer can discern some element or elements of regularity and balance. Every time-unit of which the poetry is composed, whether it be the syllable (as in the case of syllabic verse in a syllable-timed language), the stress-group (as in the case of accentual verse in a stress-timed language, or of syllabic-accentual verse in any language), the line, or the stanza, is normally presented in a regular, balanced arrangement with other units of the same or of predictably variable length.¹ Prose and speech, on the other hand, obey no such laws: the length of one utterance has no measurable effect whatsoever upon the length of the one following it. The Rev. J. Chapman, writing in the early part of the last century, put the case well:

Prose differs from verse, not in the proportions, or in the individual character of its cadences but in the indiscriminate variety of the feet that occupy these cadences; and in the irregularity of its clausular divisions. It is composed of all sorts of cadences, arranged without attention to obvious rule, and divided into clauses that have no obviously ascertainable proportion, and present no responses to the ear, at any legitimate or determined intervals.²

In the present context we are dealing with verse in which the principal time-marker--the device which gives the verse its 'ascertainable proportion'--is a rhythmical pulse occurring at perceptibly regular intervals. It is appropriate, therefore, to consider in some detail what constitutes this rhythmic phenomenon.

3.1 The perception of rhythm

Seymour Chatman, in *A Theory of Meter*, quotes H. C. Warren's definition of rhythm as 'the serial recurrence of a given time interval or group of time intervals, marked off by sounds, organic movements,

etc.'.³ Such a definition raises a number of questions. We should like to know, for example, how few rhythmical 'events' (to use Chatman's word) may constitute a serial sequence in the context of verse. In other words, what number of events is needed to create in the mind of the listener the expectation that the sequence will continue? Or again, how long--or how short--is a 'given time interval'? What is the maximum length of a foot, exceeding which would result in the foot being perceived as two feet? How does speed of utterance affect the perception of these time intervals as discrete entities? Very important, how 'equal' are the various types of time intervals relative to one another? Within what sort of perceptual range are two or more utterances adjudged by the hearer to be rhythmically equivalent? Finally, what sort of 'sounds' or 'organic movements' are responsible for marking out the durational territory in verse?

A number of these questions has been approached in this century both by linguists interested in metre and by investigators in the field of cognitive psychology. The results of their studies make it possible for us to relate what might otherwise have been impressionistic judgements to a rather more acceptable body of data. What follows is no more than the most basic summary of some of their findings, but it is hoped that it will provide adequate background for our discussion.

3.1.1 *Primary ('cardiac') and secondary rhythm*

In studies of rhythm the distinction is often made between primary or 'cardiac' rhythm, and secondary rhythm. Primary rhythm may be defined as the simple periodic repetition of a given stimulus (i.e. a 'sound' or other 'organic movement'--such as a heartbeat). None of the events or stimuli is more prominent than any other in the sequence; rather, they are all of equal 'weight' and proceed evenly along in a seamless fashion. In secondary rhythm, on the other hand, events seem to recur in a larger pattern, events of lesser prominence alternating with ones of greater prominence. This prominence may be objective: either the first, third, fifth and seventh stimuli may actually be louder, higher, or longer than the second, fourth, sixth,

etc.; or alternatively the interval separating the first and second, third and fourth, fifth and sixth stimuli may be measurably longer or shorter than that separating the second and third, fourth and fifth, etc. On the other hand, there appears to be a very marked tendency for the human brain to perceive events as occurring in secondary patterns, whether they may actually be proven to do so or not. We have probably all noticed the phenomenon of the ticking clock: in my own case I find it impossible not to hear one tick as higher in pitch than its neighbours, even though I know that, objectively speaking, this is not the case. (The phenomenon is in fact illustrated by the expression 'tick, tock', for if all the sounds were perceived as of equal weight surely we should say 'tick, tick'.) A similar illustration is provided by the parade-ground: the sergeant-major with a new group of recruits bellows 'LEFT! (pause) LEFT! (pause) LEFT, right, LEFT!' although it is likely that the soldiers are marching every bit as determinedly with their right feet as with their left. The sergeant-major's brain has organised the cardiac rhythm of walking (cardiac, that is, for anyone who doesn't walk with a limp) into a secondary pattern, and the soldiers, whose brains work similarly, understand him with no difficulty.

A number of investigations have been carried out in the field of cognitive psychology to determine the limits of the brain's capacity to perceive rhythmical patterns. Early experimenters attempted, for example, to determine the longest interval which might occur between events in a series without the hearer losing the sense of the rhythmical relationship of those events to one another.⁴ The assumption that a temporally-fixed span of human consciousness could be determined from such an experiment has long since been dismissed, but from the point of view of the rhythmicality of verse the question remains an interesting one. Paul Fraisse has shown that the average interval of silence between events (as demonstrated, for instance, by subjects tapping out rhythms on a table-top) seems to be about .7 seconds, with a maximum interval of 1.5 to 2.0 seconds. This applies to both primary and secondary rhythms, although with an interval of two seconds between events the sense of pairing necessary to a secondary pattern tends to be lost.⁵

A question particularly relevant to the temporal perception of rhythm (and thus to the temporalist view of verse-structure) is the one which asks how precisely 'equal' these intervals of silence between events must be in order for the events to be perceived as a rhythmical sequence. Experiments conducted by Wallin indicate that it is possible for such intervals to vary up to 14.5% from one another without causing the subject to lose the sense of the rhythm (1911:108). Some process of mental adjustment is apparently involved, of reconciling what is actually heard with the internal expectation of the event dictated by the hearer's previous experience of the rhythm. Or as another early investigator, Herbert Woodrow, put it:

Rhythmical grouping is determined by the duration of the subjective intervals, not by the objectively measurable intervals, but by the subject's consciousness of these intervals, that is, by the intervals considered as mental magnitudes (1909:66).

'Secondary rhythm' we have so far taken to mean a simple alternating pattern of prominent and less-prominent rhythmical events, exemplified by the 'tick, tock' of a clock, or perhaps by the uneven tread of a lame person. The same concept, however, may also be used to account for more complex patterns in which a single prominent event alternates with more than one less-prominent event. A good natural illustration of this phenomenon would be the rattling of a railway-carriage over points (*clackety-clack, clackety-clack*), or the similar effect produced by the hooves of a galloping horse. Experiments involving such 'grouped' secondary rhythms have aimed principally at discovering the maximum and minimum durational intervals between prominent events, beyond which the grouped nature of the rhythm breaks down or fails to be perceived. Woodrow concluded the maximum time-interval to be in the region of seven to ten seconds (1909:36). The minimum interval, on the other hand, seems to be around a second: at speed in excess of that the hearer tends to perceive subsequent events as part of a larger rhythmic grouping. Thus it appears that speed of delivery to some extent determines the complexity of the rhythm: at faster speeds successive events will be grouped into increasingly complex patterns (i.e. the number of less-prominent events relative to prominent ones will increase); while a slower delivery will reduce the number of non-prominent events until a simple binary, non-grouped

secondary rhythmic pattern is achieved. Chatman's summary of Fraisse's argument puts this last point well: 'the number of events perceptibly diminishes proportionately to the length of the interval separating them--the longer the interval the fewer the number of events that can be grouped together'.⁶

The implications for verse of 'grouped' secondary rhythm are obviously very great. For while the concept of ordinary secondary rhythm encompasses only the binary distinction between prominence and non-prominence--a simple 'on-off' distinction implying no hierarchical relationship between the two--'grouped' rhythm further includes the notion of non-prominent events coming, as it were, under the 'umbrella' of a prominent event, a notion which clearly assumes an hierarchical ordering. The perception and categorisation of rhythmic patterns is not specifically a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a general human device for ordering all sorts of aural and organic stimuli. Spoken language does, however, consist entirely of such stimuli (both aural and organic), and it seems reasonable to suppose that man's tendency to group non-linguistic events into hierarchically-ordered rhythmic patterns will somehow or other manifest itself in the context of his language as well. How this comes about will depend upon how prominence is realised in the language in question, and upon the relationship between prominent and non-prominent events in ordinary speech. The study of a language's verse traditions can, it seems to me, be of incalculable value in helping to decide such matters, it being the case that (as we said at the beginning of this chapter) verse represents simply a regularisation of features already present--if not so obviously--in ordinary speech. It is, however, necessary to know something about the rhythmic tendencies of a language before one can understand the role rhythm may play in its forms of versification. It is thus to a consideration of the rhythmical character of spoken Irish that we now direct our enquiry.

3.1.2 *Rhythm in spoken Irish and its importance for verse*

In the previous chapter we remarked (§2.5) that Irish, to the same degree as English, is a 'stress-timed' language: it was this

circumstance more than any other which determined the choice of analytical model upon which this study is based. It would seem appropriate here to discuss this concept of stress-timing in greater detail, and assess in particular the case for Irish being classed as a stress-timed language.

Kenneth Pike was the first to expound the notion that the languages of the globe may be classified as either 'syllable-timed' or 'stress-timed'.⁷ Although today perhaps not everyone would agree that the distinction is as clear-cut as it appeared to Pike, it will suffice for our purposes because Irish--as I hope to demonstrate--is not a language about which there can be any doubt. The terms 'stress-timing' and 'syllable-timing' both refer to the periodicity of a language, that feature which its native speakers recognise as giving it breadth and regularity when spoken. I must emphasise that this is a *perceived* periodicity, its regularity existing primarily in the mind of the speaker and his audience and not satisfactorily confirmable in empirical terms. In order to determine the rhythmical character of a language the question is asked: what element in a given utterance provides that utterance with its periodicity, its apparent rhythmical regularity?

In some languages, such as French, Japanese, and West Indian English, the syllable appears to be the basic unit of time-measurement, that is, all syllables in a given utterance, whether stressed or unstressed, require roughly equal amounts of time to be realised. Stressed syllables in the utterance thus come at irregular intervals from one another in time, depending upon the number of unstressed syllables which divide them. Such a language is termed a 'syllable-timed' language, as the syllable is the basic unit of time-measurement in it.

A 'stress-timed' language, on the other hand, is one in which the basic unit of time-measurement is slightly larger, and is governed by the stress-pulse system, rather than by the syllable-producing chest-pulse system.⁸ Instead of the length of all syllables in an utterance being apparently equal, and the intervals between stressed syllables irregular, stress-timing implies the opposite, i.e. that the intervals

between stresses are of apparently equal duration, while the length of unstressed syllables is largely dependent upon the number of them that must be fitted in between two stressed ones. It follows, of course, that the two types of periodicity are mutually exclusive, and that if one set of pulses is in rhythmical sequence, then the other cannot be.⁹

We earlier gave an example to illustrate how stress-timing operates in English:

I was bitten in the leg by a huge bulldog yesterday.

We remarked that the stressed syllables give the impression of being evenly spaced in time, in spite of the fact that they are separated by varying numbers of non-prominent unstressed syllables--or, in the case of 'huge' and 'bull-', by none at all. The same phenomenon is observable in Irish. Take, for example, the following statement:

Dúirt sé go dtiocfadh sé ar ais anocht.

'He said he would come back to-night.' This utterance contains four prominences, and as in the English example these are separated by varying numbers of non-prominent syllables. Even so--as the finger-tapping test will demonstrate--the prominent syllables appear to be equidistant in time from one another, while the unstressed syllables take up only as much time as is consistent with maintaining the rhythmicality of the stressed ones.

The importance of the relationship between stress-timing of this kind and versification in a stress-timed language cannot be overstated. If verse represents simply a regularisation of features already present in speech, then the achievement of a rhythmically-regular line of verse in a stress-timed language should prove as natural and easy as talking itself. In the English example, for instance, the regularity of the 'beats' can be made even more apparent by equalising the number of unstressed syllables between stresses, or alternatively, by stressing syllables which might not normally receive full stress, as in the following:

A bulldog bit me in the leg and caused my flesh to bleed

Here the number of non-prominent syllables between prominent ones has been regularised; and in addition, one of the words which in the original utterance was not prominent--the preposition 'in'--has been raised to a position of prominence. The result is a standard, if not particularly appealing, iambic line. It is important to realise that this sort of thing rarely occurs except by deliberate effort on the part of the speaker, who may wish to produce some emphatic or comic effect, or signal to his listener that there is more to come:

A bulldog bit me in the leg and caused my flesh to bleed;
I bit the blighter back and brought dishonour to the breed.

The listener is, in fact, warned that he is in the presence of verse by the structural regularity of the first utterance; and the identical structure and length of the sequel confirms the whole for him as verse--or, in this case surely, doggerel.

In Irish, verse is even easier to achieve than it is in English; for while the regularisation of the numbers of syllables in the foot (= stress-group) is certainly a common practice, it is by no means as universal a one as it is for English literary verse. The example which we used a moment ago provides an illustration of this point:

Dúirt sé go dtiocfadh sé ar ais anocht.

As we noted, the number of unstressed syllables between the stressed ones varies from one to three. The sentence is a perfectly ordinary one, and this would undoubtedly be the normal way of uttering it. And yet by duplicating the pattern of this utterance in a second utterance, the whole thing becomes verse, as in this well-known example:

'A mháithrín an leigfidh tú 'un aonaigh mé?
A mháithrín an leigfidh tú 'un aonaigh mé?
A mháithrín an leigfidh tú 'un aonaigh mé?
'A mhúirnín ó, ná héiligh é!

In contrast to the couplet about the bulldog, the only unlikely feature of the first line here is the artificial stress on the pronoun mé; were it not for that, the line could stand as a perfectly

acceptable ordinary utterance, and the listener would hear it as nothing more than a question. The addition of the second line, however, requires him to reconsider this judgement and deal with both as verse.

Clearly, the importance of the natural, ordinary stress-patterns of the Irish language must be central to any consideration of metrical features that we may wish to undertake. In a stress-timed language--like Irish or English--one may, of course, compose verse that might at first glance appear to be in a syllabic metre, by simply regularising the number of unstressed syllables in every foot. Such verse is called syllabic-accentual verse, and the verse about the bulldog may be regarded in this way (as, indeed, may a great deal of English poetry). The important thing about such verse is, however, that the pattern of prominences is reiterated in a regular fashion in every line, and this makes the metre an accentual one, since the number of stresses per line is the perceived organisational feature, not the number of syllables. If, on the other hand, the pattern of stressed syllables is not repeated or is irregular, then the number of syllables per line will have to be considered as the main unifying feature. This is normal in a syllable-timed language; but in a stress-timed language it will result in lines of verse containing equal numbers of syllables but being temporally unequal, since they will contain unequal numbers of stress-groups. The fact that a large body of such verse exists in Irish, a strongly stress-timed language, is of course very curious indeed, and has excited considerable conjecture among scholars. We shall, however, postpone discussion of this phenomenon for the time being.¹⁰

3.2 'Ictus' and 'stress'

In the preceding paragraphs we have been talking about 'prominence' and 'non-prominence', about 'stressed' and 'unstressed' syllables, and about 'stress-groups'. The meaning of these terms has, I hope, been clear in the context of our discussions of various topics. It is now, however, necessary to refine our terminology for use in the context of Irish metrics, to explain what we mean by 'stressed' versus

'unstressed' syllables, and in particular to introduce the concept of 'ictus', a concept crucial to a proper grasp of the rhythmical organisation of Irish verse.

As I stated at the beginning of the first chapter, my understanding of terms like 'stress' and 'stressed syllable' derives from that of David Abercrombie (1976:51-3 and §1.1 above). Abercrombie argues that the term 'stress' should be used to indicate a general phonetic phenomenon which is physiologically defined, and that it should not imply the presence of any specific auditory features such as loudness or pitch prominence. Stress, he says, indicates an activity of the pulmonic air-stream mechanism (he cites Ladefoged's definition of it as 'a gesture of the respiratory muscles') and, as such, it is either present or absent: a syllable is either 'stressed' or 'unstressed'. He avoids using the expression 'secondary stress', as it confuses the pulmonic 'gesture' with its realisation in terms of sound. The realisation of stress in speech may, he says, be audible (i.e. a 'stressed syllable') or it may be silent. A 'silent stress', he argues, is stress realised in terms of a pause, but it is no less real a physiological fact for being inaudible. Elsewhere he cites Daniel Jones' famous example of the phrase 'thank you', often uttered simply as ['kkjul: the missing stressed syllable is, he maintains, 'still present in the speaker's movements', if not in the sound he actually utters (1965a:20). Finally, Abercrombie advances the case for using the terms 'ictus' and 'remiss' (the latter a coinage of Joshua Steele's) in the particular context of stressed metre. Both terms he uses to denote 'positions' within the 'foot' (which, as a temporalist, he takes as being equivalent to a stress group): 'ictus' indicates that position in the foot at which a stress must occur, all non-stresses occurring in the 'remiss'. He is correct in seeing the need for names 'for the "places" in structure, names which are distinct from the names of the elements which fill those places' (1976:53).

We have only one reservation about Abercrombie's definitions. Proper understanding of the structure and character of Irish accentual verse does, it seems, require us to accept the notion of 'degree' of audible stress--whatever the phonetic correlates of this gradation may be. There may be no such thing as 'secondary stress'--stress may,

indeed, be an 'on-off' phenomenon--but there is in Irish poetry unquestionably such a thing as a 'secondary-stressed syllable', a fact which we shall demonstrate presently. There is also (corollary to this) a position perhaps definable as 'secondary ictus', which must be filled either by a secondary-stressed syllable or by a 'silent' stress. There are certain types of duple foot in Irish poetry which, quite simply, can be understood in no other way than by the application of such concepts; our reasons for thinking this will, I hope, be made clear in what follows.

Given the foregoing by way of theoretical background, what can be said in practical terms about the realisation of stress in Irish verse? Clearly, the distinction between 'stressed' and 'unstressed' syllables must be basic to the operation of stress-timing in the context of verse; and, as we suggested a moment ago, there is evidence for 'secondary-stressed' syllables as well. In addition a number of roles appear to be performed in verse by silence, both in ictus and in remiss. All of these phenomena deserve to be examined in some detail at this time.

Within the category of 'unstressed' syllables must also be included syllables which should more properly be called 'destressed'. These latter are syllables which, in ordinary speech, would have the potentiality for stress (that is, they are words which carry lexical accent), but which are destressed in the verse context through falling not at a position of ictus but rather in the remiss.¹¹ Thus, for metrical purposes, they are no more strongly articulated than are those syllables which are normally unstressed in speech, i.e. grammatical words like pronouns and prepositions, and unstressed syllables of lexical words.¹² Consider, for example, the following quatrain from *Dónall óg* (ND 1:73); the oblique lines indicate foot-boundaries, the syllables immediately following them standing in the position of ictus:

/Tá mo /ghrá-sa ar /dhath na /sméara
 is ar /dhath na /n-airní /lá breá /gréine,
 ar /dhath na /bhfraochóg ba /dhuibhe an /tsléibhe,
 's is /minic a bhí /ceann dubh ar /cholainn /ghléigeal.

Most of the unstressed syllables in this quatrain are either grammatical words--prepositions, possessive pronouns, the definite article, forms of *agus*, the relative particle, the copula, the substantive verb--or else they are non-initial syllables of polysyllabic words like *sméara*, *fraochóg*, *cholainn*, etc. But two of the unstressed syllables, *breá* and *dubh*, are adjectives, and would be at least partially if not fully stressed in a conversational context. (*Dubh* would certainly receive full stress, as its meaning is in contrast with that of *gléigeal* at the end of the utterance; in the case of the expression *lá breá gréine* the stronger stress would fall naturally--as it does here--on the last word in the phrase, *gréine*, with *breá* being naturally destressed.) In this environment, however, to utter either of these words as stressed would severely wrench the rhythm of the line, and it is clear that their lexical potentiality for stress should be suppressed.

In the couplet about the bulldog we were examining the opposite side of this particular coin, for there we saw how a grammatical word (a preposition) could be artificially stressed in order to meet metrical requirements. This also occurs in the present example: the normally unstressed substantive verb-form *tá* must be included in the stress-system of the first line, in order to give the line the four stresses it needs to bring it into conformity with the three lines following. Each of these four stressed syllables is fully stressed, that is, each of them apparently bears more or less equal weight vis-a-vis the other stressed syllables in the line.¹³ It is, of course, the regular occurrence of these fully-stressed syllables which is responsible for defining the rhythm of the quatrain as a whole.

Naturally, the great majority of fully-stressed syllables are lexical words, rather than grammatical words; they are the words which carry lexical accent and thus the potentiality for stress in ordinary speech, i.e. nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs other than the substantive and copula. In addition, as we have just seen, grammatical words may occasionally be elevated to a position of ictus when the metre demands, although the better the poetry the less frequently this will occur. But there is also a third way in which stress may be realised: as silence.

To understand the phenomenon of silent stress in verse it is useful to draw analogy with music: silent stresses operate in Irish verse--as in English--in the same way that rests do in music, and they serve precisely the same function, namely, to preserve the sense of balance and equilibrium between individual sound units, whether these be of equal or of different but determined length, without interrupting the rhythmical flow from one such unit to the next. Consider, for example, the following limerick, which appears to be five lines long; I have inserted a carat (λ) at every point where a silent stress occurs:

A /smiling young /lady of /Niger λ
 went /out for a /ride on a /tiger: λ
 They re/turned from the /ride
 with the /lady in/side
 And the /smile on the /face of the /tiger. λ

Considered only on the basis of audible stresses, we would judge this limerick to contain three lines of three stresses each, and two lines with two stresses each. But if we disregard rhyme for a moment and write the third and fourth lines as one, we can see that what we really have is a four-part stanza, each part containing four stresses:

A /smiling young /lady λ of /Niger λ
 Went /out for a /ride on a /tiger: λ
 They re/turned from the /ride with the /lady in/side
 And the /smile on the /face of the /tiger. λ

In the limerick, the apparent disparity between sound units of varying length--in this case, line units--is reconciled by the functioning of silent stress within the stanza structure. Precisely the same phenomenon is observable in Irish verse, as we may see from this example of a limerick in Irish cited by Seán Ó Tuama:¹⁴

Trí /m'aisling a/réir do /smuineas-sa λ
 'S m'e ar /leabaidh bhuig /mhín go /clúdaighthe, λ
 Go raibh /ainnir na /luighe
 Go /cneasta lem /thaoibh
 Gur /thaithnigh a /gnaoi is a /hiomchar liom. λ

This stanza displays one of the hallmarks of Irish accentual verse in the alternation of feet containing different numbers of syllables, the contrast here being between trisyllabic and disyllabic feet. It is important to realise, however, that the slight hesitation one feels in

the middle of the disyllabic feet (*réir do; mhín go; luighe Go; thaoibh Gur; gnaoi 's a*) does not amount to a silent stress, the latter being confined to positions of ictus.

A slightly more complicated but at the same time more typical example of the phenomenon of silent stress in Irish verse is provided by the following stanza of Peadar ó Doirnín's (ND 2:35):

Is i /ndún a chois /coilleadh ag /imeall na /trá
 ta /snua an aoil /úir mar an /rós /\λ
 i /ngnúis an /linbh nár /milleadh is is /áille--
 /cúl na /lúb mar an /ór; /\λ
 ar /chinneamhain Le/ánder ní /thairnfí /scríob,
 nó ar /Helen an ucht /bhláithghil ler /sárscriosadh an
 Traí
 dá /mbeadh fhios ag /cábh go mbeadh mo /ghrá-sa san
 /tírse
 ina /huillea/gán gan /bhrón. /\λ

In its present form this stanza consists of eight lines. If we ignore silent stress, the first, third, fifth, sixth and seventh lines appear to contain four feet each, and the second, fourth and eighth, three feet. But if we bring the silent stresses into consideration the organisation of the whole stanza becomes much easier to comprehend: the stanza is, in fact, divisible into four temporally-equivalent parts, each consisting of eight stresses or 'beats'. The complexity of the stanza thus does not lie in its accentual structure, which may be represented by the simple formula AABA ('B' being the only unit not containing a silent stress); its sophistication lies rather in the system of assonantal ornamentation which has been superimposed upon the basic fabric of the accentual structure.

The final test for determining the presence of silent stress is to try to leave it out or, conversely, to put it in where it does not belong. In the case of the English limerick this would result in the verse reading something like this (keeping the pulse steady at the diagonal lines):

A /smiling young /lady of /Niger went /out for a /ride on a
 /tiger: they re/turned from the /ride /\λ with the /lady in/side
 /\λ and the /smile on the /face of the /tiger.

Clearly enough, the result would be equally peculiar if this were tried with either of the Irish examples. The fact is that silent stress is a vital structural component of accentual verse. In terms of meaning it functions as punctuation, marking the end of one thought before the beginning of the next (as, for instance, between the lines 'went out for a ride on a tiger' and 'they returned from the ride', where the pause is absolutely essential); and in structural terms it helps to mark the boundary between one line-unit and the next, defining the length of each.

In Irish verse, silent stresses are inserted at the ends of lines containing an odd number of feet.¹⁵ They do not occur at the ends of lines containing an even number of feet, except where they may stand for a secondary-stressed syllable. The phenomenon is easily demonstrated. Compare, for example, the stanza from *Dónall Óg* which we saw above (p. 73) with the following quatrain by Pádraigín Haicéad (ND 1:19):

A /chuaine /chaomhsa i /gcéin i /bhfódaibh /Fáil, /λ
 /luaidheam /léigheann, /léigeam /brón ar /lár, /λ
 /buaileam /fé gach /ceird de /nósaibh /cháich /λ
 is fá /thuairim /éireann /déanam /óla/chán. /λ

The verse from *Dónall Óg* contains, as we saw previously, four stresses per line; and while there is a small pause at the end of each line, a short interval of silence, this pause does not appear to contain a silent 'beat'; rather, the anacrusis syllables--those unstressed syllables preceding the first stressed syllables in the line--in the second line appear to be part of the foot begun on the first syllable of *sméara* in the first line, and so on throughout the quatrain. One could, in fact, write the stanza out in paragraph form, showing the oblique foot-markers, and do no violence to the sound of it as verse.

This would not, however, be possible with *A chuaine chaomhsa*. Because the verse contains five stresses per line it appears to require the addition of a silent stress at the end of every line to make up an even number; and the anacrusis syllables at the beginning of line four appear to be part of the foot begun with the silent stress in the preceding line. If we were to utter this quatrain in paragraph form--as we did with the limerick, trying to leave out the silent

stresses--it would sound very peculiar indeed. Why a line containing an uneven number of feet should require to be made up to an even number by the addition of a silent stress is rather mysterious. The phenomenon is, however, paralleled in western music, which has traditionally required phrases or 'periods' to occur in discernibly-balanced relationships with one another: thus, one 'period' of eight beats (= feet) is followed by another of the same length. Such periods are nearly always composed of an even number of beats--usually, in fact, four or a multiple of four, although one need look no further than the Irish slip-jig (in which the periods consist of six beats) to find an exception to the last generalisation.

In the matter of stressed syllables versus unstressed ones all of the examples that we have so far examined are straightforward enough: fully-stressed syllables (or silent stresses) occur at the beginning of each foot, and all syllables coming between one stressed syllable and the following one are, from the point of view of metre, unstressed. But other examples are not quite so uncomplicated. Consider again the example which we briefly encountered earlier (ND 3:16 and p. 32 above):

Faraor géar nár cailleadh mé an lá ar baisteadh me go hóg,
 Sul má fágadh 'mo chadhan aonraic mé gan feithide an bhéil
 bheo;
 Níl deartháir a'm, níl deirfiúr a'm is níl mo mháithrín beo,
 Tá m'athair bocht lag aosta is, a Chríost, cé hionadh dhó?

At first glance it may seem that this should be considered a four-stress metre, with foot-divisions as follows:

/Faraor géar nár /cailleadh mé an lá ar /baisteadh mé go /hóg
 sul má /fágadh 'mo chadhan /aonraic mé gan /feithide an bhéil
 /bheo;....

On the other hand, someone who knows the tune to these words may feel that the lines contain seven stresses, rather than four:

/Faraor /géar nár /cailleadh /mé an lá ar /baisteadh /mé go
 /hóg, /λ
 sul má /fágadh / 'mo chadhan /aonraic /mé gan /feithide
 /an bhéil /bheo; /λ
 níl /deartháir /a'm, níl /deirfiúr /a'm, is / níl mo
 /mháithrín /beo, /λ
 tá /m'athair /bocht lag /aosta /is a /Chríost cé /hionadh
 /dhó? /λ

Which interpretation is correct?'¹⁶ It seems to me that if we acknowledge only two types of syllable to be operative in Irish verse--fully-stressed and unstressed--then we are going to come to grief over stanzas like this one, where neither of the above interpretations is likely to satisfy everyone.

Some people might argue that musical evidence should be used, where available, to tip the balance in favour of one interpretation over another. In my view musical evidence should be used with extreme caution, for two reasons: (1) that if the metrical structure of the text is not apparent without the superimposed metrical regularity of a tune, then there is something very wrong with the text; and (2) that musical evidence may itself be dangerously misleading or ambiguous, for the simple reason that the rules of musical structure differ in a number of subtle and not-so-subtle ways from those governing the composition of verse. In addition there must also be considered the possibility that the tune latterly associated with a given text may be other than the one to which that text was composed. All this is not to say that a great deal cannot be learned from examining verse in its musical context; it may even be possible eventually to make a case for the musical context of Irish verse being in some way responsible for certain of its metrical forms, as some people have suggested. All of these questions will be examined in detail in our final chapter. In the meantime, however, we cannot emphasise too strongly the necessity that seemingly troublesome texts be critically examined on their own merits, and such evidence as a tune may seem to offer not taken automatically for granted.

The best answer to the problem posed by stanzas like the above lies in distinguishing a third type of syllable which we may call a 'partially-stressed' or 'secondary-stressed' syllable. In the present example the partially-stressed syllables are those which fall second in each pair of stresses, as these would be identified in the seven-stress reading given above. They function precisely like the 'weak' beat in a musical bar in 4/4 time (the oblique mark ['] indicates a syllable falling under secondary stress):

/Faraor 'géar nár / cailleadh 'mé an lá ar /baisteadh 'mé go
/hóg 'λ

If we examine the quatrain as a whole, we see that most of what we would now (according to this analysis) call 'partially-stressed' syllables are in fact grammatical words; the exceptions (*géar*, *máithrín*, *bocht*, *ionadh*) do not, perhaps, justify awarding full stress to words like *mé*, *mo*, *an*, and *is*, whose greater incidence surely indicates that the poet himself considered them to be of lesser rhythmical weight than those (*faraor*, *cailleadh*, *baisteadh*, etc.) falling first in each group of two.

The principal requirement for secondary-stressed syllables seems to be a foot of four syllables in length. Feet of two or three syllables tend to be triple in rhythm, whereas a foot of four syllables can be divided neatly in half, so that there may be one complete unstressed syllable between each pair of stressed ones. In our example only two feet contain more than four syllables (*/cailleadh mé an lá ar/* and */feithide an bhéil/*), and both are easily reduced to four syllables by elision. As a further illustration of how partial stressing operates, consider the following, from a poem by Peadar ó Doirnin (PóD:57):

Ar ndul damh 'mach fón sliabh gan choin, gan each is an ghrian
 Ina gaethe glana aniar go glórmhar
 Fó thulcha glasa, an fiadh ag dul chun reatha siar
 Is guth na mbeach ag triall sa nuachoill;
 Measc na dtor níor chian gur theagmhaigh dhamh réalt
 Sholasta na gciabh n-ómra
 Is a péire roscaibh liath mar dhriúcht na maidne riamh
 Ní fhacas bean chomh tréan ródheas.

Each of the four long linear units in this stanza conforms to the *ochtfhoclach* pattern 3A+B. The termination of each of the 'A' units is marked by the diphthong *-ia-*, the 'B' unit ending in the disyllable in *-ó-*. We can perhaps see the pattern more clearly if we place each unit for the time being on its own line, thus:

Ar ndul damh 'mach fón sliabh
 gan choin, gan each is an ghrian
 ina gaetha glana aniar
 go glórmhar....

The problem is to determine how many feet go to make up the 'A' and 'B' elements. As with the stanza from *Amhrán na Trá Báine* which we have just discussed, we have here two choices: we may divide each 'A'

element into two feet, or into three--the question being whether we hear a new foot beginning on '*mach*, on *each*, on *glana*, or whether we take these as secondary-stressed rather than primary-stressed syllables. The fact that all are lexical words, and the fact that they all assonate with one another into the bargain, are strong inducement to consider them fully-stressed:

Ar /ndul damh /'mach fón /sliabh / λ
gan /choin, gan /each is an /ghrian / λ
ina /gaetha glana a/niar / λ
go /glórmhar / λ / λ / λ

On the other hand, are all of the stressed syllables in each of these phrase-units of equal weight? Are we justified in saying that the fourth line contains three silent primary stresses? Or would the lines run more smoothly if we thought of the second stress in each as being subsidiary to the first:

Ar /ndul damh 'mach fón /sliabh 'λ
gan /choin, gan 'each is an /ghrian 'λ
ina /gaetha 'glana a/niar 'λ
go /glórmhar 'λ / λ

This latter interpretation seems to me to be the preferable one of the two, for in spite of the ornamentation of what according to this analysis are secondary-stressed syllables (a phenomenon which, as we shall later see, is by no means rare), this interpretation correctly represents the fact that the second stress in each 'A' line is of lesser prominence than either the first or last. A further point in favour of this analysis is the fact that one need acknowledge only one primary silent stress at the end of line 'B', rather than three.

In this context let us examine one further example, which differs from ó Doirnin's stanza only in that it does not feature assonating vowels in the positions of secondary stress:¹⁷

Tá /cailín 'deas am /chrá 'λ
 le /bliain a'gus le /lá 'λ
 agus ní /fhéadaim a /fáil 'λ
 le /bréagadh; 'λ / λ
 níl /aiste 'chlis le /rá 'λ
 dá /gcanaid 'fir le /mná 'λ
 nár /chaithea'mair gan /tábhacht 'λ
 /léise; 'λ / λ
 don /Fhrainc 'nó don /Spáinn 'λ
 dá /dtéadh mo /ghrá, 'λ
 do /raghainn'se gach /lá 'λ
 dá /féachaint; 'λ / λ
 'gus mura /bhfuil sé 'dúinn i /ndán 'λ
 an /ainnir 'chiúin seo /fháil, 'λ
 /och! Mac 'Muire na /ngrás 'λ
 dár /saoradh! 'λ / λ

It would be impossible to make a case for this stanza containing three fully-stressed syllables in the 'A' unit: not only is assonance lacking on what would be the second stressed syllable, but in some cases this syllable is itself lacking (as in /féadaim a/, line 3 and /dtéadh mo/, line 10), or is a post-initial syllable in some word which would never receive post-initial primary stress (/caitheamair gan/, line 7; /raghainnse gach/, line 11), or is a normally unstressable grammatical word. On the other hand, secondary stress is quite natural in a number of quadrisyllabic feet where stress is possible on both the first syllable and on the third; and because the pattern is on the whole successfully established in our minds we do not have any real difficulty with those feet in which secondary stressing is a matter of some artificiality.¹⁹ In any case, the fact that the secondary stress may be natural in some feet and less so in others will make no perceptible difference to the length of the foot vis-a-vis its neighbours: from the point of view of timing it is the primary stressed syllables which are all-important, for these are the ones which define the boundaries between the feet, and are thus the ones which must be counted to determine the length of the line.

What we have been describing here is a phenomenon recognised by other investigators and usually called 'dipodic rhythm'.²⁰ Attridge cites an experiment by the psychologist Herbert Woodrow which concludes that 'in a subjective grouping by four, with the first member accented, the third member is apt to be given a lesser secondary accent'.²⁰ Dipodic rhythm in English is most thoroughly attested in

what is generically called 'ballad metre'--the metre not only of the popular ballads but also of many children's rhymes, broadside ballads and other types of popular poetry. The stanza from *Amhrán na Trá Báine* exemplifies the typical manifestation of ballad metre in Irish, the model for which was presumably the Hiberno-English broadside ballad (cf. §6.2.1 below). Even so, the incidence of dipodic rhythm in Irish is not limited to examples of ballad metre; it is present, in fact, wherever the internal rhythm of the foot is demonstrably duple (as opposed to triple) in character. We shall be considering the distinction between duple and triple rhythms, as well as other features of the internal structure of the foot, later in this chapter.

Before we do so, however, we must examine one final aspect of the question of stress and how it is realised in verse. In both of the last two examples we may notice that the assonantal system--the ornamentation of the stanza--appears to operate more forcefully and consistently at the ends of lines than anywhere else; and by 'lines' I mean both those as given by the various editors, and as reconstituted for the purposes of my own discussion. The last fully-stressed syllable of a line--or of an *ochtfhoclach* phrase--more often than not contains a long vowel or diphthong (*sliabh/ ghrian/ aniar; bréagadh/ léise/ féachaint/ saoradh*), whereas assonating fully-stressed syllables in other than final position often rely upon less obvious connexions between short vowels of (sometimes) slightly different qualities (*aiste/ gcanaid/ chaitheamair; bhfuil/ ainnir/ Muire*) and sometimes these more tenuous liasons break down altogether (*cailín/ bliain/ fhéadaim*). This distinction leads us to an important and fundamental observation concerning the operation of stress in Irish verse, namely, that the primary stress falling at what we shall call the 'cadence' (i.e. at the beginning of the final foot) of the line or phrase appears to be more important, and attracts a more substantial ornamental feature, than the other primary stresses within the line. For purposes of dividing the line into feet the cadential stress is no more important than any of the others; all fully-stressed syllables signal the beginning of a new foot, and all the resulting feet in a line are perceived as being more-or-less equivalent in durational terms. But in terms of its attraction for strong assonating vowels

and other ornamental features the cadential foot appears to be at a decided advantage.

The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the intonation system of the Irish language--not that the Irish language is unique in this respect. As I have remarked elsewhere, the most important stressed syllable of an 'unmarked' utterance in Irish--that is, of an utterance carrying no emphatic or contrastive significance--is normally the last fully-stressed syllable in the utterance; in intonation studies this is often referred to as the 'nuclear syllable'.²¹ Thus in an utterance such as

/Dúirt sé go /dtiocfadh sé

there are two primary-stressed syllables, the second of which appears to receive greater prominence than the first: 'He said he would come'. But if another element is added, as in

/Dúirt sé go /dtiocfadh sé ar /ais

the weight which formerly fell on the first syllable of *tiocfadh* as the last fully-stressed syllable in the utterance has now been shifted forward to *ais*, 'He said he would come back'.

Students of intonation have chosen to call this important syllable the 'nuclear' or 'tonic' syllable in order to indicate that it somehow represents the nucleus of the utterance. This seems to be true in at least two ways: not only does the word carrying the nuclear syllable normally constitute the focus of the entire utterance, often containing whatever 'new' (as opposed to 'given') information the sentence is contributing to the conversation, but the nuclear syllable is also the syllable which initiates the 'nuclear tone' or 'nuclear contour', the semantically-important part of the intonation of an utterance which may indicate finality, non-finality, surprise, indecision, and so on. It is this latter feature in particular which probably accounts for our impression that nuclear-stressed syllables are somehow more important, or 'heavier', than other primary-stressed syllables: insofar as pitch prominence may be a correlate of stress

in Irish,²² nuclear-stressed syllables may be said to be more strongly stressed than other primary stresses, since they normally carry or initiate some sort of semantically-significant pitch movement within the utterance.

In ordinary conversation, nuclear stress may fall on the final primary-stressed syllable of an utterance ('unmarked'), for example

/Dúirt sé go /dtiocfadh sé. 'He said he would come.'

or it may fall on some earlier primary stress for purposes of contrast or emphasis ('marked'), as in

/Dúirt sé go /dtiocfadh sé. 'He said he would come (but he didn't).'

In verse, however, the nuclear syllable must seemingly always occur in cadential position, i.e. all verse 'utterances' are unmarked. There is, in my view, a very good metrical reason for this. The principal importance of nuclear stress in verse is not that it points out the single most important word in the utterance (= line), although it may do so, or that it carries important intonational information about the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying; rather, nuclear stress functions in verse principally as a boundary-marker, signalling the end of one metrical utterance and preparing the hearer for another. Unlike a great deal of English literary poetry, in which the enjambment of lines--whether syntactical, or metrical, or both--is a common feature, Irish verse prefers that its line-boundaries be clearly delineated by means of (1) the presence of a nuclear tone in the cadential foot, (2) the presence of assonantal and/or other ornamentation in the cadential foot, and (3) the occurrence of a short interval of silence following the cadential foot. This latter feature may take the form of a 'metrical pause' or caesura (i.e. a silent primary or secondary stress or--as in the case of ó Doirnín's poem--one of each); alternatively it may take the form of an 'extra-metrical pause', as in the case of the quatrain from *Dónall óg*.²³ The important thing is that, just as the regular occurrence of primary stresses, resulting in a series of feet, creates an impression of aural regularity that is essential to verse, so also does the regular occur-

ence of nuclear stresses create a larger sense of periodicity within the stanza. Therefore, only if nuclear stresses always occur in cadential position can they be relied upon to perform this function, giving the various components of the stanza their integrity, and assuring the unity and balance of the stanza as a whole.

I should say that I am not the first to have noticed something of this sort, or to have understood its importance for Irish verse. Bergin (1937:285) refers to Thurneysen's having pointed out that 'in O.Ir., as in Romance poetry, the rhythmic character of the verse depends on the termination; inside the verse there is no regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables'. The Old Irish line referred to is, of course, a very short *rosc* line containing two or, at the most, three stressed syllables. Bergin goes on:

The same might almost be said of English blank verse, which owes its charm to the varying number and position of its stresses and pauses, since, anticipating the verse-end, one does not lose the sense of rhythm, and without counting one feels that there are ten syllables to the line.

Because of features such as line-end ornamentation, nuclear stress, and pause, 'anticipating the verse-end' would appear to be even easier in the case of Irish accentual verse than in that of iambic pentameter.

In summary, we have here distinguished four types of syllable to be found in Irish verse. 'Primary-stressed' or 'fully-stressed' syllables (including 'silent' stresses) stand at the beginning of a foot, simultaneously marking the beginning of that foot and the end of the one preceding. 'Nuclear-stressed' syllables are those primary-stressed syllables standing at the beginning of a cadential foot, and they function additionally as boundary-markers separating one metrical utterance from another. 'Partially-stressed' or 'secondary-stressed' syllables (including, again, 'silent' secondary stresses) occur at the mid-point of feet in duple rhythm. 'Unstressed' syllables, both grammatical words and destressed lexical words, constitute all other syllables within the line, whether within a complete foot or standing before the first complete foot in a line as an anacrusis.

3.3 The internal structure of the foot

In our discussion of stress we have noted that secondary-stressed syllables (or secondary silent stresses) only seem to occur in feet which can be divided evenly in half, so that the partially-stressed syllable stands at the mid-point of the foot. Verse in which this is possible may be described as being in 'duple' rhythm, as opposed to verse in 'triple' rhythm, in which the feet do not submit to such easy sub-division. As the 'duple' and 'triple' terminology suggests, the rhythmical organisation of the foot in verse may be compared to that of the bar in music; and a bar of music, or a foot of verse, may be organised in a number of different ways--although as we shall see, prevailing rhythmical patterns in verse must be so contrived that they manage simultaneously to obey the rhythmical laws of the language in which the verse is composed, and to this extent perhaps poets are not so free to choose and vary their patterns as are musicians. In the discussion which follows musical notation will be used, as it is felt that this is the simplest means of representing the rhythmical relationships operating between the various syllables making up the foot. The reader should not, however, assume that we mean by this that the rhythmical values suggested by the notation are to be taken as exact: the perception of rhythm within the foot, as of larger rhythmical structures within the line and stanza, is largely the product of cognitive ordering mechanisms within the brain. As we have stated previously, the 'accuracy'--in empirical terms--with which such mechanisms measure temporal values is, in the context of the present discussion, largely irrelevant.

3.3.1 *Triple rhythm*

The results of our survey would seem to indicate that Irish poets have, over the centuries, largely preferred triple rhythmic patterns to duple ones.²⁴ As we shall see in the following chapters, lines of any length can be composed in triple rhythms, whereas the use of duple rhythms seems to be more limited. Whether one might be justified in drawing any historical or other conclusions from this circumstance could only be finally determined after a thorough study of the rhythmical predispositions of the Irish language, accompanied by scrutiny

of early verse and prose texts--a task which we must leave to another occasion and, perhaps, another investigator. The preponderant use of triple rhythms in extant accentual verse is, however, suggestive.

Two triple rhythmic patterns in particular dominate Irish verse. They may be represented as follows, using musical notation:



There are, in addition, other triple patterns, such as



and so on, but these appear to exist only within frames of reference set up by the first two, and are never used independently to set up the prevailing rhythmic pattern for a stanza.

We can get a good impression of pattern [a] from the following example, which appears to be the Irish equivalent of the 'half-a-league, half-a-league, half-a-league onward' type of rhythm in English:²⁵

Tá /clog ar mo /chroí 'stigh, 'tá /líonta le /grá dhuit,
 /lionndubh taobh /thíos de chomh /ciardhubh le /hairne;
 'Má /bhaineann aon /ní dhíot 's go /gcloífeadh an /bás tú,
 /beads' im shí /gaoithe romhat /thíos ar na /bánta.'

In this quatrain the first three feet of each line are trisyllabic, and the syllables in each of these trisyllabic feet give the impression of being of more-or-less equal quantity, so that the pattern established throughout the quatrain is | ♩ ♩ ♩ |, rather than | ♩ ♩ ♩ | or some other theoretically acceptable pattern in which the length of the syllables relative to one another would be perceived to be unequal.

The cadential foot in the above example carries pattern [b], the second of the two basic triple patterns, | ♩ ♩ |. In the next

example we can see this pattern at work in every foot of the line (ND 1:31):

Do /chuala /scéal do /chéas gach /ló mé
 is do /chuir san /oích' i /ndaoirse /bhróin mé,
 do /lag mo /chreat gan /neart mná /seólta,
 gan /bhri gan /mheabhair gan /ghreann gan /fhónamh.
 /Adhbhar /maoithe /scaoileadh 'n /sceoil sin,
 /cás gan /leigheas is /adhnadh /tóirse....

In this example virtually every foot is disyllabic (I have made small adjustments here and there to show where elisions would occur), and of the two syllables in each foot the first is perceived to be considerably longer than the second. This impression is created in two ways: first, most of the feet contain a long vowel or diphthong in the first syllable, e.g. *scéal/ chéas*; *oích(e)/ daoirse*; *ló/ brón/ seólta*, etc; and second, every foot--with one exception--consists either of a single disyllabic lexical word, or a monosyllabic lexical word plus a grammatical word such as *san*, *i*, *do*, *mo*, *gan*.

The single exception to this description is the foot */neart mná/* in line three, and it is a very important exception indeed. This foot contains two lexical words, the second of them destressed--although the destressing in this case has as much to do with ordinary speech as it has to do with the exigencies of the metre. The word *mná* here is part of a syntactic unit, *mná seólta*, the second element of which would receive primary and possibly nuclear stress in speech: in the expression *gan /neart /mná* 'without the strength of a woman' the word *mná* 'of a woman' receives nuclear stress; on the other hand, in the example *gan /neart mná /seólta* 'without the strength of a woman in labour' the word *mná* is destressed and the nuclear stress falls on the word modifying *mná*.


The rhythm of the foot */neart mná/* appears to me to differ from that of the other feet, i.e. to be something nearer to | ♩. ♩. | than to | ♩ ♩ |. The fact that the word *mná* contains a long vowel of course contributes to this impression, but as we shall see from the examples which follow the crucial factor here is probably the fact that *mná* is a destressed lexical word, rather than an unstressed second syllable, or a grammatical word. Destressed lexical words

maintain their quantity relative to other words in the foot in spite of losing whatever potentiality for stress they may possess in normal speech, and this quantity relationship is reflected in the rhythmic structure of the foot, giving | ♩. ♩. | or | ♩ ♩ |, rather than the prevailing | ♩ ♩ |. We can see further examples of this phenomenon in the stanza from *Dónall óg* which we examined earlier:

/Tá mo /ghrá-sa ar /dhath na /sméara
 is ar /dhath na /n-airní /lá breá /gréine,
 ar /dhath na /bhfraochóg ba /dhuibhe an /tsléibhe,
 's is /minic a bhí /ceann dubh ar /chlainn /ghléigeal.

The first two lines of this stanza are composed exclusively of disyllabic feet, and of these all but one conforms to the rhythmic pattern | ♩ ♩ |; the exception is the penultimate foot in the second line, /lá breá/, in which the word *breá*, like *mná* in the preceding example, is destressed for both linguistic and metrical reasons. The result is that--again, like /neart *mná*--the syllables in this foot bear a more-or-less equal relationship to one another, which can be expressed rhythmically something like | ♩. ♩. |.

The third and fourth lines of the quatrain show the principle at work in a rather more complex context. Unlike the first two lines, which only contain feet of the type | ♩ ♩ | (except for /lá breá/, of course), the last pair of lines contains in addition feet conforming to the pattern | ♩ ♩ ♩ | (for example, /bhfraochóg ba/, /duibhe an/),²⁶ as well as to a number of subsidiary patterns resulting from different syllable-quantity relationships within the feet concerned. For instance the word *chlainn*, by virtue seemingly of the nasal sonorant with which the word ends, has its long syllable at the end rather than at the beginning, and so the rhythm of the foot coextensive with this word is best represented | ♩ ♩ |, in contrast to the following foot /gléigeal/ which conforms to the basic pattern [b]. The same is true, for similar reasons, of the word *minic*, and this is reflected in the rhythmic character of the foot /minic a bhí/ which is something like | ♩ ♩. ♩ ♩ |. In the foot /ceann dubh ar/ the same phenomenon is at work that we saw in the example /lá breá/. The word *dubh* is not the second syllable of a disyllabic lexical word (although it is certainly true that *dubh* may be compounded in this way, as *lon-dubh*, *ciardhubh* and so forth); rather it is a lexical word in its own

right, contrasting in meaning with *gléigeal*. In ordinary speech *dubh* would receive primary stress, or even contrastive nuclear stress; but in the present context its capacity for such stress is completely suppressed for metrical reasons. The internal rhythm of the foot, however, betrays the true importance of the word *dubh* in the foot /*ceann dubh ar*/ by preserving its original quantity vis-a-vis the other syllables in a rhythmic pattern something like |  |.

Such deviations from the predominant rhythmical patterns as occur in a stanza like this one are not without aesthetic value: in much the same way as in English, deviant patterns may be seen to be in contrapuntal contrast with the basic pattern, preventing the overall rhythm of the lines from becoming tiresome. I am not sure, however, to what extent random variations of this sort should be attributed to the conscious aesthetic intentions of the poet. We must not lose sight of the fact that Irish poetry was composed orally and was meant to be transmitted orally, and the rhythmic pattern of the verse must play a very great part in its successful memorisation and transmission over a long period. By contrast English literary verse, in which a certain degree of rhythmical randomness is counted a virtue, was transmitted primarily through the medium of writing. Rhythmical regularity in English poetry may therefore be considered a fault; but in Irish verse it must be counted a virtue. Irish poets themselves appear quite conscious of this, as demonstrated by the fact that when they choose to vary the rhythmic patterns of their verse within a line (as opposed to simply allowing it to happen), they very often do so in patterns which are repeated in succeeding lines. The following example from a poem by Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig illustrates the point (ND 1:12):

/Ábhar /deargtha /leacan do /mhnaoi Chuinn /é
/táir is /tarcaisne a /thabhairt dá /saorchlainn /féin,
/grá a /hanama is /altram a /cíoch cruinn /caomh
do /thál ar /bhistard nach /feadair cé /díobh puinn /é.

(7) | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\circ}}$ | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\bullet}}$ | $\overset{!}{\underset{\cdot}{\circ}}$ |

In this quatrain, although the rhythm is identifiably triple in character, there is a high level of rhythmical variation within the line which keeps the pattern | ● | ● | from becoming monotonous. But un-

like the example from *Dónall óg*, the rhythmical variation in this stanza is clearly not random, but is carefully planned, yielding the same pattern in all four lines.²⁷ The penultimate foot of each line is particularly fascinating, for it demonstrates the poet's clear awareness of the fact that destressed lexical words maintain their syllabic quantity vis-a-vis the other words in the feet in which they occur, in spite of losing their capacity for stress. In this quatrain not only has the poet included a destressed lexical word at the same position in each of these feet (*Chuinn*, *-chlainn*, *cruinn*, *puinn*), he has also underlined the importance of these words by making them rhyme.²⁸

In making rhythmical variation within a line submit to strict regulation in this manner, rather than allowing it to happen in a more random fashion, Irish poets have responded to the exigencies of the oral tradition. Orally-transmitted verse is subject to constant revision at the hands of the people who transmit it; and poetry bearing a subtle rhythmical scheme, however beautiful or effective in the original, stands a fine chance of suffering distortion within a generation or two. Thus Irish poets, fully conscious of the dangers inherent in the oral process, have rightly concluded that the best way to keep their compositions intact is to build specific aural features into the structure of their verse--features which are at the same time easy to remember, and difficult to change. Vowel assonance, alliteration, and rhyme are such features, and so also is the type of regularised rhythmical variation which we have been examining here.

3.3.2 *Duple rhythm*

The use of duple rhythms in Irish verse appears, as we said earlier, to be more limited in extent than the use of triple rhythms. A partial explanation for this may lie in the fact that duple rhythms seem to be less easily variable, the identification of a poem as being in duple rhythm depending to a great extent on the presence of a significant number of consecutive quadrisyllabic feet. The principal rhythmic pattern possible in a duple rhythm is, indeed, the quadrisyllabic one, which may be represented | ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ |. As with the triple rhythmic patterns, variations in this rhythm may occur, but in order

for the duple character of the rhythm to prevail it is usually necessary that a significant proportion of the feet in a given stanza conform to this quadrisyllabic pattern. The following quatrain illustrates the case:²⁹

A /ógánaigh an chúil /cheangailte le /raibh mé seal in /éineacht,
 /chuaidh tú a réir an /bealach seo is ní /tháinig tú dom
 /fhéachaint.
 /Shíl mé nach ndéanfaí /dochar duit dá /dtagthá agus mé
 /d'iarraidh,
 is gurb í do /phóigín a thabharfadh /sólás dom dá /mbeinn i lár
 an /fhiabhrais.

(♩) | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ x |

As we can see from this pattern, the rhythmic character of the stanza is defined by a succession of quadrisyllabic feet producing a rhythmically uniform, smoothly-flowing line. As we should expect, several feet contain a secondary-stressed lexical word at mid-point (*seal*, *'réir*, *ndéanfaí*, *thabharfadh*, *lár*), emphasising the most important fact about duple feet, namely, that unlike feet in triple rhythm, feet in duple rhythm may be divided evenly in half.

Deviation from the prevailing quadrisyllabic pattern is confined to (1) the five-syllable foot */shíl mé nach ndéanfaí/* and (2) the cadential foot of each line; mention should also, perhaps, be made of the abnormally long anacrusis to line four. The first case, that of the foot */shíl mé nach ndéanfaí/* may be rhythmically represented something like | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ |, the first syllable of *ndéanfaí* being secondary-stressed. Secondly the cadential foot, while not quadrisyllabic, is nevertheless clearly duple in rhythm. A line of verse, whatever its rhythmical character, will normally have a nuclear stress as its final stress; it will also generally be followed by a short interval of silence in the form of either a metrical or an extra-metrical pause: both of these elements, as we discovered earlier, are essential to maintaining the integrity of the line as a verse-utterance. In Irish verse, lines in duple rhythm on the whole tend to stop short of the point at which a secondary-stressed syllable would occur, the secondary stress then being realised as silence, giving a metrical pause.

There are, it must be said, a half-dozen cases in our sample which do not conform to the above principles, where the third 'beat' in the cadential foot is audibly realised. In one or two cases this results in the elimination of the interlinear extra-metrical pause, as in the following Connacht song (CO:23):

An /cuimhin leat na /haontaighe is an /cuimhin leat na /margaidh,
 An /cuimhin leat an /oidhch' úd bhí muid /thíos ag tigh Uí
 /Cheallacháin,
 Do /dhá láimh [i] mo /thimcheall 's in mo /chroidhe nach raibh an
 /ghangaidheacht,
 Ach go /gcuala mé 'dul idir /daoine go raibh /smaoineadh ar bhean
 /eile agat.

Here the consecutive flow of quadrisyllabic feet is uninterrupted even at the ends of the lines, the (usually) monosyllabic anacrusis serving as the fourth syllable in those feet begun at the cadence of the preceding line; only in the anacrusis and first foot of line four does the rhythm falter slightly.

A second example, from a poem by Art Mac Cumhaigh, is more unusual. Here the cadential foot is disyllabic; even so, it seems probable that the second syllable in that foot should fall at the position of secondary ictus (AMC:101):

/Mise an t-ollamh /saoithiúil sin, /Pítear Mhac /Dhónaill,
 /Teagaimh 'dul na /slí mé gos /íseal Dé /Domhnaigh,
 /Láimh le séipeal /Chríosta, mar raibh /craosairí 'g /ól ann,
 Is /thug siad bumper /líonta gan /íneadh in mo /dhorn damh.

(♩) | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ (x) |

Although this quatrain does not display the consecutive quadrisyllabic movement which we have argued is generally necessary for the identification of duple rhythm, the fact that each line begins with such a foot clearly establishes that rhythm as the predominant one in the stanza. The trisyllabic second and third feet are thus naturally felt to contain a long syllable followed by two short ones, an interpretation underlined by the presence of a long assonating vowel at the primary ictus in these feet. This in turn leads to the first syllable in the cadential foot also being interpreted as long, with the result that the second syllable in the cadence falls at the position of secondary ictus.

Returning to *ógánaigh an chúil cheangailte*, we remarked that the anacrusis to line four was of an unusual length. This is quite a common occurrence, and may perhaps be explained in light of what we have been saying about the nature of line-final pauses, whether metrical or extra-metrical. An anacrusis may normally be reckoned as 'time out' of the overall rhythmical scheme of the stanza, although by and large an anacrusis in any other than the first line of a stanza will flow naturally enough if it can be taken as part of the remiss of the final foot of the previous line--whether that final foot began with an articulated primary stress (as in the case of lines containing even numbers of feet) or with a silent primary stress. However, in the case of a rather long anacrusis such as we have here, the slight dislocation of the rhythmic flow between lines three and four is similar to that resulting from the insertion of an extra-metrical pause between lines whose structure makes the insertion of a metrical pause (a silent primary or secondary stress) impossible. The probability is, of course, that this particular anacrusis is the result of an oral elaboration of the original text which would have occurred during a performance of it as a song: the musical setting could well have effectively rationalised any metrical irregularities of this nature.³⁰

We have argued here that a prerequisite for duple rhythm is the presence in the line or stanza of a significant number of quadrisyllabic feet--enough such feet, in fact, to make inevitable the interpretation as duple of trisyllabic and disyllabic feet in the same context. It is, however, seemingly possible for duple rhythm to be indicated in the absence of quadrisyllabic feet. Compare, for example, the following:

(a) Tá /báb deas /geanamhail 'san /áit nach /bhfuilim
 Is /áille /maise is /féachaint,
 Agus /grádh go /dtug dí thar /mhnáibh na /cruinne
 Is go /bráth ní /thig liom a /séanadh. (DCCU:440)

(b) Tá /brainse /féidhmiúil /ceansa /céillí
 ag /taisteal /éireann an /uair seo,
 Ag /brosnú /léighinn is ag /cosnamh /céime
 is ag /dealú /éigsí ó /thuataí,... (AMB:37)

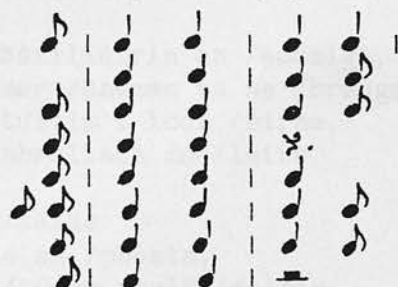
Each of these is constructed on the same pattern (i.e. that of a particular variety of *ochtfhoclach* metre), and both contain very nearly

the same number of syllables. They do seem, however, to be markedly different rhythmically. The first is clearly triple, alternating disyllabic with trisyllabic feet throughout:



The rhythmic character of the second example, on the other hand, may be easier to demonstrate if we view the quatrain phrase-by-phrase:

Tá /brainse /féidhmiúil
 /ceansa /céillí
 Ag /taisteal /éireann
 an /uair seo,
 Ag /brosnú /léighinn
 is ag /cosnamh /céime
 is ag /dealú /éigsí
 ó /thuataí,...



The only significant difference between the two texts would seem to be that (a) contains a long vowel in the ictus of the first (and every subsequent odd-numbered) foot, while (b) has a short vowel in this position. We have already remarked on the importance of 'first impressions' in the setting up of rhythmical patterns--as Chatman put it, how one 'tends to be biased by what comes first, regardless of how the ultimate pattern works out' (1965:27 and n. 26 above). In the case of (a) the 'long-short' character of the first full foot sets the rhythmic pattern for the rest of the stanza (a fact, of course, which the poet well understood, as evidenced by his filling all alternate odd-numbered ictuses with long vowels, and the even-numbered feet with trisyllabic movement). In (b), however, the first complete foot contains two short syllables which are more-or-less equal in length, thus biasing the listener in favour of a duple rhythm rather than a triple one. And underlying the duple character, the poet has seen to it that when a long syllable does fall in a position of ictus, its tendency to create a 'long-short' quantity-relationship within the foot is cancelled out, either by the second syllable in the foot also containing a long vowel (e.g. /féidhmiúil/, /céillí/, or by there being two further syllables in the foot which, taken as a unit, may be thought of as equivalent in length to the syllable containing the long vowel (e.g. /éireann an/, /léighinn is ag/, /céime 's ag/).

It must be emphasised, however, that duple rhythms based upon disyllabic rather than quadrisyllabic feet are very fragile, and can all too easily 'revert' to a triple pattern. In fact, the evidence of a number of items in our sample would seem to suggest that duple rhythm of any kind--even when based upon quadrisyllabic feet--may be at risk. Here is an example from Connacht which illustrates the sort of rhythmical ambiguity which can arise (AGCC:36):

A /tháilliúir, a /tháilliúir 's a /tháilliúirín an /éudaigh,
 Ní /deise liom mar /ghearras tú 'ná mar /chumas tú na /bréuga,
 Ní /truime liom bró /mhuilinn 's í /tuitim i Loch /éirne,
 'Ná /grádh buan an /táilliúr' tá i /mbrollach mo /léine.





/Shíl mise /féin mar do /bhí mé gan /eólas
 Go /mbainfinn liom do/lámh nó /fáinne an /phósta,
 Agus /shíl mé 'na /dhiaidh go mbudh /tú an reult-/eólais,
 Nó /bláth na súgh-/chraobh air gach /taoibh de na /bóithrín.³¹

Of these two stanzas the first seems to be primarily duple in rhythm, with the possible exception of the last line (assuming the elision of *tá i*). The second stanza, on the other hand, is principally triple in character, except for the fleeting feeling of duple rhythm imparted by the quadrisyllabic foot in the second line. If, as we might justifiably assume, this is the text of a song sung to a tune in the *sean-nós* style of Connacht--a very slow-moving and rhythmically flexible style as presently practised--then such rhythmical anomalies as this song seems to embody would probably have little or no effect upon the success of the song as a whole.

3 : NOTES

1. 'Syllable-timing' and 'stress-timing' are discussed below, §3.1.2.
2. *The Music or Melody and Rhythmus of Language* (Edinburgh, 1818), 46; cited in Sumera (1970:50).
3. *Dictionary of Psychology* (Boston, 1934), 234; cited in Chatman (1965:18). Most of the work summarised in the next few pages is discussed more fully in the second chapter of Chatman's book, to which the interested reader is referred.
4. For discussion see Chatman (1965:19-20).
5. P. Fraisse, *Les Structures Rythmiques* (Louvain, 1956), 13-15; cited in Chatman (1965:21).
6. Fraisse (1956:16); paraphrased by Chatman (1965:26).
7. (1945:34-5). I am avoiding the use of the term 'isochrony' which often appears in such discussions, as it implies an empirically-determinable equivalence among the time-intervals involved. As I have attempted to show in the preceding paragraphs, the perception of rhythm (in speech as in any other phenomenon) has more to do with cognitive processes within the mind than it has to do with externally-verifiable durational equivalences.
8. See D. Abercrombie (1967:35-6) for a full definition and discussion of these terms.
9. The only exception is the case of so-called 'syllabic-accentual' verse, in which the number of syllables per stress-group has been regularised.
10. In a lecture delivered at Edinburgh in 1980 the Scottish poet Norman MacCaig remarked about English poetry composed in what he calls 'syllabics' (for example some of Auden's and George MacBeth's verse) that the syllabic regularity is imperceptible to the ear, in spite of being carefully worked out, because English speakers are attuned to hearing regularity of stress, rather than of syllable. Such verse, he says, sounds to him like free verse. We may find the same observation applicable to Irish syllabic poetry, with the qualification that the strict rules of assonance and alliteration operating in that poetry impart an essential symmetry to lines which in purely accentual terms may be quite irregular.
11. Attridge (1982:164-72) in a very useful discussion calls the de-stressing of lexical words in this fashion 'demotion'; the artificial stressing of grammatical words he calls 'promotion'.
12. My differentiation between 'grammatical' and 'lexical' words is based on the theoretical distinction first put forward by Halliday; see D. Crystal, *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (London, 1980), 209-10.

13. With the qualification that the last stressed syllable in the line bears greater apparent weight than the stressed syllables preceding it in the same line; see the discussion of 'nuclear stress' below, pp. 83-6.
14. *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* XIX, 40; cited in ó Tuama (1960:320).
15. The same observation is also true to a large extent for English verse; see the limerick above. An obvious exception, however, is unrhymed iambic pentameter, and it is doubtless significant that this metre is often used by a poet (like Shakespeare) wishing to make statements of considerable syntactic complexity longer than a line in length. The presence of end-rhyme in this metre, however, usually makes silent stress a necessity.
16. As we may recall from the first chapter, Prof. ó Concheanainn concluded that this text contained five stresses per line: see above, p. 32.
17. ND 3:47. As with the preceding example, in the interests of clarity we have broken each line of the quatrain into its four constituent parts, although this arrangement differs from that in *Nua-Dhuanair* 3.
18. One could, perhaps, make a case for emendation: *ní /fhéadaim 'í a /fháil* (line 3) and *dá /dtéadh mo 'mhíle /grá* (line 10) would both be quite credible, as well as answering all the metrical specifications.
19. Cf. Stewart (1925:935ff.), Attridge (1982:114-21).
20. H. Woodrow (1951) 'Time Perception', *Handbook of Experimental Psychology*, ed. S. Stevens, New York; cited in Attridge (1982:114).
21. Blankenhorn (1981-2:260). Cf. also definitions of 'nuclear syllable' and 'nuclear tone' summarised in Crystal, *op. cit.* 245.
22. As I believe it to be: cf. Blankenhorn (1981:225-49).
23. We shall have more to say on the subject of pause in §5.2 below. Useful discussion of these phenomena in the context of English verse is to be found in Stewart (1930:29-34) and in Cable (1972:233-5).
24. Of 1279 examples in the sample, 938 were unequivocally in triple rhythm, as opposed to 223 in duple rhythm and 118 examples the rhythmic character of which may be considered ambiguous. See Appendix A.
25. ND 1:79. I have altered the text slightly in a couple of places to show where elision would naturally occur; this has also been done in the case of the following example (ND 1:31). In the present case we are, in addition, printing as four lines what is presented as an eight-line stanza in *Nua-Dhuanair* 1.

26. The foot /duibhe an/ is, in my view, quite likely to be interpreted rhythmically as  (rather than some disyllabic pattern resulting from the elision of the two words) due to that pattern having been present in the foot immediately preceding. This may be an example of what Chatman meant when he wrote (1965:27): 'It has...been observed that in the initial stages of a rhythmic sequence, the subject tends to be biased by what comes first, regardless of how the ultimate pattern works out. Thus, for example, although a stressed rhythm will soon develop into a strong trochaic movement, it may for a few moments be interpreted as iambic if the unstressed event occurs first....' In this case a prevailing rhythmic pattern  has been unequivocally broken by the foot /bhfraochóg ba/ which in turn sets up a new pattern ; this pattern (being one of the two capable of predominating) will then prevail until the pattern  unequivocally reasserts itself.
27. The editor of the poem correctly points out that *thabhairt* in line 2 should be taken as a disyllable (ND 1:97). Elision would, of course, naturally occur in the second foot of lines 2 and 3.
28. *Saorchlainn* is a compound, and the element *-chlainn* would therefore naturally be unstressed; the word *cruinn* in line 3 would also receive no stress in normal circumstances, as stress would fall rather on the second of the two adjectives modifying *cíoch*. *Chuinn* and *puinn* are, by contrast, truly destressed words which, in the context of normal speech, would have received primary and probably nuclear stress.
29. ND 1:88 and 135 (notes). Prof. Ó Concheanainn identifies the metre of this stanza as *rócán* and presents it in eight lines, rather than four.
30. For some inexplicable reason song texts very frequently contain indirect locutions (such as the one at the beginning of line 4) in preference to direct--and usually shorter--ones. It is almost as if the singer were trying to distance himself from the immediacy of the emotions portrayed in the song by treating the song (often, as here, cast as a first-person narrative) as if it were a story relating to some person other than himself. The use of the indirect locution implies the presence of '*deir sé*' or some other interpolation, and thereby further implies that the singer is only quoting the story as he heard it, rather than describing emotions notionally his own. This explanation may, indeed, be supported to some degree by the fact that some singers actually insert '*deir sé*' and the like into their songs; one singer of my acquaintance, the late Micheál Mháirtín Seoighe of Doire Bhéal an Mháma, near Recess in northern Connemara, had this habit to a very marked degree, although it would be true to say that much of the time his performances were more recitation than singing and thus closer to story than to song.
31. The last line here is restored to the form in which *de hÍde* (as he tells us in a footnote) actually heard it. He emended the line to read *de'n bhóithrín* which, while grammatically admirable, clearly does not embody the triple rhythm indicated in the last two lines and which his informant seems to have been trying to

perpetuate. De híd may, in fact, have mistakenly interpreted a meaningless *schwa*, inserted by the singer between *de'n* and *bhóithrín* for purely rhythmical reasons, as grammatically significant: the interpolation of such syllables is a common feature of sung performances in both Irish and in English, and is one area in which the capacity of an air to exert a prescriptive influence upon its accompanying text is indisputable. In addition to restoring the last line I am here giving as four lines what de híd presented as eight.

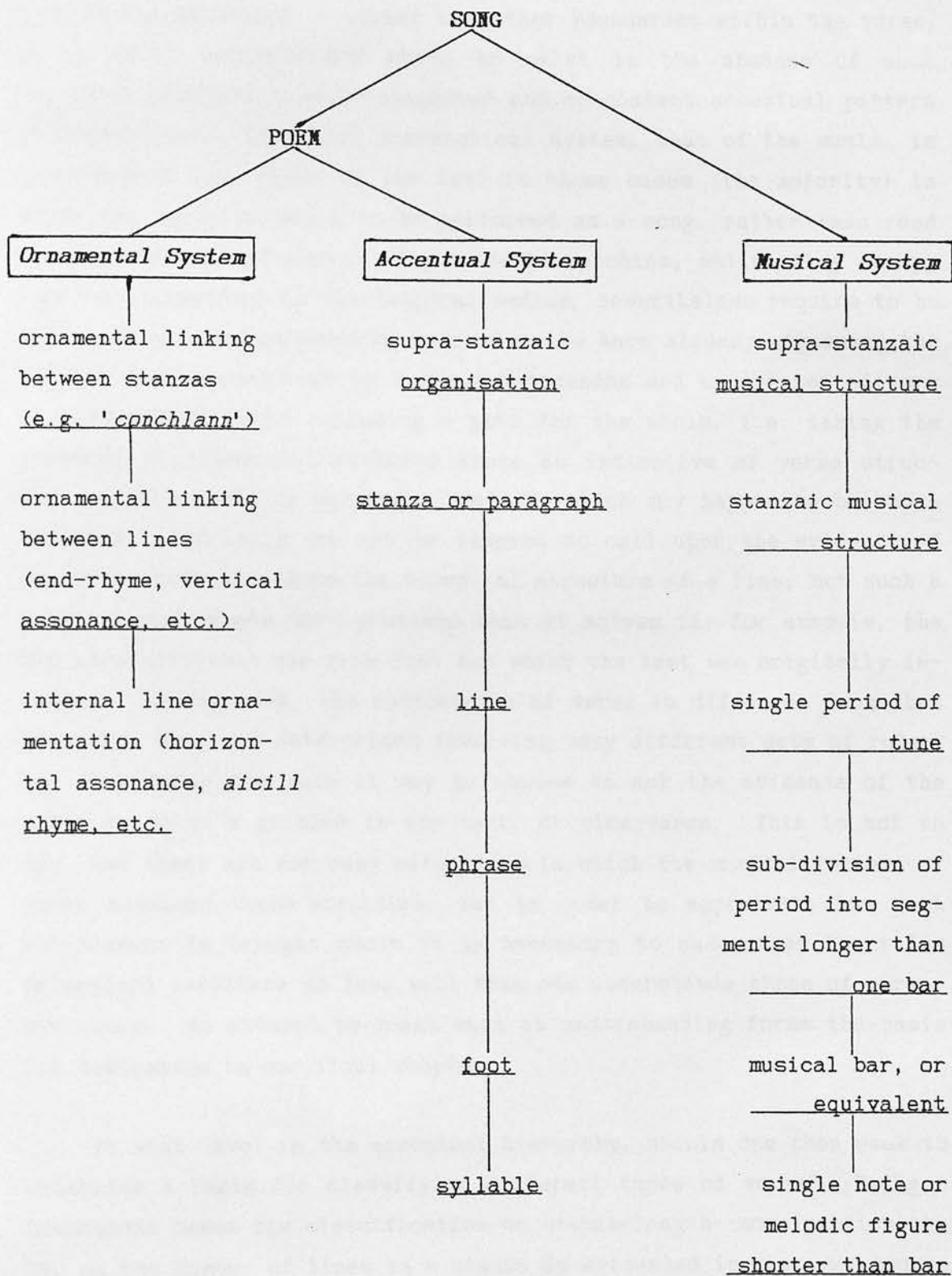
4 : TAXONOMY:

TWO- AND THREE- STRESS LINES

4.0 As we saw in the first chapter, Tadhg ó Donnchadha attempted, with rather mixed results, to base a classificatory system for Irish metres upon the number of lines to be found in a stanza. For a variety of reasons this system proved unwieldy and, in some cases, downright misleading. He was, however, correct in perceiving a need for some sort of taxonomic system. The business of the following chapters is to outline a new proposal for such a system of classification, and to demonstrate its power to comprehend the wide variety of examples thrown up by the sample.

In the previous chapter we discussed those aspects of poetic structure which may be said--if we borrow an analogy from physics--to occur at 'sub-atomic' level: the dynamic behaviour of syllables (stressed or unstressed) and silences within the foot, which we may compare with that of protons and electrons within the atom. Henceforward, whilst endeavouring not to lose sight of the rhythmical and ornamental subtleties within the foot, we shall be more concerned to distinguish the behaviour of feet vis-a-vis one another, as they combine to form lines, phrases, stanzas--the larger structures of verse. In other words, to continue our scientific analogy, if we may think of the foot as an atom we may similarly think of the line as a molecule and the stanza--turning to biology--as a cell.

The application of such an analogy to metrics is, I think justified; for the structure of verse, like that of language, may in many respects profitably be regarded as an hierarchical one. What I mean by this may perhaps best be illustrated by a diagram:



This diagram, of course, describes not one hierarchy, but three. That representing what we shall be calling the 'accentual system' is the central one, the one which is indispensable to verse; for while ornamental features such as assonance and rhyme serve to draw atten-

tion to the existence of linear and other boundaries within the verse, it is still possible for verse to exist in the absence of such features, provided a well-integrated and consistent accentual pattern is established. The third hierarchical system, that of the music, is superimposed upon those of the text in those cases (the majority) in which the verse is meant to be performed as a song, rather than read silently or recited aloud. The three hierarchies, whilst they occupy parallel existences in the temporal medium, nevertheless require to be kept distinct for purposes of analysis. We have already witnessed the difficulties encountered by Tadhg ó Donnchadha and some later editors as a result of their confusing a part for the whole, i.e. taking the evidence of ornamental features alone as indicative of verse structure, whilst ignoring accentual features which may happen to be unornamented. Similarly one may be tempted to call upon the evidence of an air to help elucidate the accentual structure of a line; but such a practice may create more problems than it solves if, for example, the air is a different one from that for which the text was originally intended. In any case, the composition of verse is different from that of music; they are enterprises involving very different sets of rules; and this being the case it may be unwise to ask the evidence of the music to solve a problem in the text, or vice-versa. This is not to say that there are not many situations in which the musical context of verse enhances verse-structure; but in order to appreciate how such enhancement is brought about it is necessary to understand the rules of musical structure no less well than one understands those of verse-structure. An attempt to reach such an understanding forms the basis for discussion in our final chapter.

At what level in the accentual hierarchy, should one then seek to establish a basis for classifying different types of verse? Tadhg ó Donnchadha based his classification on stanza-length--more particularly, on the number of lines in a stanza as evidenced in whatever source he was using--and as we saw his choice led him into difficulties. A more dependable yardstick for differentiating metrical types, it seems to me, is that of line-length. We have already hinted at our definition of a 'line', i.e. a metrical entity consisting of a number of feet, the cadential foot being marked by some ornamental feature or features common to all other similarly-constructed lines in the stanza

(a stanza may, on occasions, contain lines of more than one type). Lines may vary greatly in length, from the two- and three-foot lines such as those found in *Caoineadh Airt uí Laoghair*, to lines containing twelve or even fifteen feet. Lines up to five feet in length--and sometimes lines of six-feet as well--are nearly always presented by scribes and editors as single lines; lines of greater length, however, are normally given as two or more lines for reasons of spacing on the page. It was seemingly this latter editorial practice which led Tadhg ó Donnchadha into mistaking the written form of a stanza as evidence of its metrical structure.

The following chapters, therefore, represent an attempt at a taxonomy of accentual verse-forms based upon line-length. Within each category so defined a representative sample of different lines is discussed with reference to such features as cadence (i.e. the rhythmical character of the cadential foot), phrasing, rhythm, and ornamentation.

4.1 The smallest linear units: 2- and 3-stress line-types

The most basic and, it would appear, the most ancient types of accentual metre found in Irish are those in which the line contains only two or, at most, three stressed syllables; for the sake of brevity we shall follow the example of ó Donnchadha and subsequent editors and refer to these metres collectively as *rosc*. The term may, in fact, not be an inappropriate one: Professor MacCana, writing in *Celtica* 7, has pointed out that the term *rosc/roscad* in O. Ir. 'was associated with verse...of the pre-classical type', i.e. unrhymed, non-syllabic verse, and may have originally 'denoted a "vivid, memorable pronouncement", or something of the sort' (1966:72). He goes on to remark that 'as used in the early tales, the short-lined verse...is distinguished by its very brevity, which imparts to it a litany-like and--one might almost say--rhythmical quality, by its lack of rhyme and, normally, by its use of linking alliteration' (75); this 'litany-like quality' is certainly one which the modern reader will recognise in many of the examples to be examined below.

The use of the *rosc* metres in modern Irish appears largely to be reserved for (a) lamentation (particularly the lamentation of the dead in the ritual context of *caointeoireacht*), (b) prayer, and (c) gnomic sayings. Here again, Professor MacCana's remarks about the use of pre-classical unrhymed metres in the context of the sagas are apposite:

...they would have performed what was merely the proper function of verse *qua* verse within a saga context, in Irish as in ancient Indian literature, namely to record speech, especially dialogue, marking 'any heightening of the mood: love, anger, death'; but their dramatic impact must have been less striking than it became in later centuries, when the very appearance of the form, apart altogether from its content, was sufficient to evoke an impression of archaism and to convey an oblique reference to the remote reaches of native tradition (76).

In just the same way, the use of the *rosc* metres in the modern Irish context evokes a similar 'impression of archaism', and not only for metrical reasons: the types of poetry which employ these metres are, for the most part, thematically as well as metrically outside the mainstream of modern Irish verse, and represent what must be regarded as some of the most conservative of all native Irish verse-traditions, those connected with death, religion, and gnomic wisdom. Most of the illustrations which follow are drawn from *caointe*, from Fr. Diarmuid ó Laoghaire's collection of prayers, *Ár bPaidreacha Dúchais*, and from Henry Morris's collection of proverbs and aphorisms, *Seanfhocail Uladh*.

In these metres the line contains two or three audible stresses, with a cadential foot of from one to three syllables in length. Thus paradigmatically there are six possible types of line, i.e. three two-stress types (hereinafter referred to as types 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, the figure to the right of the decimal point representing the number of syllables in the cadential foot) and three three-stress types (3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). In practice the sample indicates some of these types to be latterly more popular than others, but all types are nonetheless represented.

4.1.1 Line-type 2.1

Two-stress lines with a monosyllabic final foot are not numerous in the period covered by the sample. There are, however, a few lines in *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghair* which appear to belong in this category:

- (a) Mo /ghrá thú agus mo /rún!
Tá do /stácaí ar a /mbonn,
tá do /bha buí á /gcrú;
is ar mo /chroí atá do /chumha.... (CAL:11. 372-5)¹

And Henry Morris cites a proverb which would seem to be similarly constructed:

- (b) Tiocfaidh /bliain an /óir
/bliain an bhairr /mhóir
agus /bliain an /bhróin. (SU:175)

Nevertheless it is difficult to find examples of the 2.1 type in the modern period. Not so for earlier periods of Irish, however: here is a lament from one of the legends of the childhood of Christ preserved in *L. Brecc*:²

- (c) Mo /mac beri /uaim,
ni /me dogní int /olcc;
/marb didiu me /fén,
na /marb mo /mac;
mo /c(h)iche cen /loimm,
mo /suile co /fliuch,
mo /lama for /crith,
mo /chorpan cen /nith,
mo /cheli cen /mac
me /feni cen /nirt;
mo /betha is fiu /bas,
uch /m' cenmac, a /Dé!
/M'foiti cen /luach,
mo /galar cen /gein,
cen /dígail co /brath;
mo /chiche 'na /tast,
mo /chride ro/chrom.

The evidence of these examples allows us, it seems to me, to posit a generalised accentual pattern for lines of this type, which we may express formulaically thus (note that [˘] indicates a stressed syllable, and ˇ an unstressed syllable):³

The correctness of our assumption that this accentual pattern is the basic one for the type 2.1 line is confirmed by the evidence of Scottish Gaelic, in which language the 2.1 line-type has continued to flourish into modern times, as this paragraph taken from a waulking-song illustrates:⁴

- (d) Tha 'n /oidhche nochd /fuar,
 's i /reothadh gu /cruaidh;
 cha /chadal a /fhuaire,
 ach a' /caoi na /dh'fhalbh /uainn;
 cha /ghilleann tha /bhuaime,
 ach fear /gasda gun /ghruaim,
 làmh /stiùradh nan /stuadh,
 i bhith /deas no bhith /tuath,
 le /soirbheas teann /cruaidh.

4.1.2 Line-type 2.2

However far afield we may have needed to go for evidence of the 2.1 line-type, there is abundant evidence in the sample for the type of two-stress metre in which the cadence is disyllabic. Here is an example from *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*:

- (e) A /mharcaigh na /mbán-ghlac!
 Is /maith thíodh bio/rán duit
 /daingean faoi /cháimbric,
 is /hata faoi /lása.
 Tar éis /teacht duit thar /sáile
 /glantaí an /tsráid duit,
 is /ní le /grá dhuit
 ach le /han-chuid /gráine ort. (CAL:11. 36-43)⁵

There are also a number of traditional prayers which appear to be constructed on the same pattern:

- (f) A /Thiarna, /gráim thú,
 mar is ag /triall ort a /thánag
 ag /iarraidh do /ghrásta
 trí /thoradh do /Pháise
 agus trí /impí do /Mháthar. (APD:no. 78)
- (g) A /Ghobnait an /dúchais
 a /bhíodh i mBaile /Bhúirne
 go /dtaga tú /chughamsa
 le d' /chabhair is le d' /chúnamh. (APD:no. 537)

Indeed, the habit of composing prayers in *rosc* metre clearly goes back a very long way--as far back as St Patrick himself, if the evidence of *Iomann Phátraic* or *Fáeth Fiada* is anything to go by (cf. Henry 1979:136). Similarly a number of proverbs testify to this same pattern:

(h) Ní /féasta go /rósadh
ní /céasta go /pósadh. (SU:176)

(i) An /rud atá i /ndán domh,
is /doiligh a /bhánú. (SU:47)

In all of the examples quoted we see that the generalised accentual pattern is identical to that of type 2.1, with the obvious exception that the line-ending is disyllabic rather than monosyllabic:

˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘

The rhythm of this pattern is strongly triple in character, the first complete foot normally containing three short syllables, and the caudential foot ordinarily being composed of a long syllable followed by a short one. Not all examples, however, are so rhythmically straightforward, as we may see from the following passage from Dáibhidh ó Bruadair's poem *Iomdha Scéimh ar Chur na Cluana*:

(j) Ion/ná an bula/báirín
do /rin do /chillín
/Hannraoi /Cúisín:
ó an /dtaca um ar /básuigheadh
/Breasal ó /Bréigín
ní /chodlann ó /Cnáimhín
/soirbh gan /súisín:
an /t-easbog más /críostaidhe
/choganas /crustaoi
is /cosmhail nach /gnáthuigheann
/Caiseal gan /crúiscín:
/measaim nár /naoimhdhlíghe
é i /bhflathas hí /Dhúnaoi
dá /mbradadh ó /Néidín
/matal í /Mhaoilín:
i /reachtaibh an /rámhaidhe
le ar /creachadh na /cóstaoi
badh /dearbhtha ar /déirín
/Cathal ó /Cuirnín:
níor /aite le /hógmhnaoi
/druimfhinne a /drúchtín
/d'fhaicsín i /ngáirdín
/maidean i /dtús Mhaoi:
ionná /linne na /córdaoi

ar /scrogaibh na /sciursidhe
 lear /camadh na /cártaoi
 ar /chonaibh na /gcuigidhe:
 ní /hoifig do /dhíthríoch
 /deabhaidh ré /diuicibh:
 i /gCorcaigh bíd /brístí
 ar /ghallaibh an /ghiuisdís:- (DOB:98)^e

One may, of course, question the legitimacy of this interpretation on the grounds that it fails to take account either of forward stress in words containing post-initial long vowels (which we may assume would have been a feature of ó Bruadair's dialect), or of the fact that the final syllables of the lines rhyme, while the penultimate syllables manifestly do not do so. These are valid comments, and some readers may therefore prefer a different analysis:

Ion/ná an bulabáir/in
 do /rin do chill/in
 /Hannraoi Cúis/in:
 ó an /dtaca um ar bás/uigheadh
 /Breasal ó Bréig/in

This reading would lead us to the conclusion that the line-type should be classed as 2.1 rather than 2.2, and that it represents an hitherto unsuspected duple variant of that metre, having overall a generalised pattern something like this:

∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪

It seems to me, however, that this analysis creates more difficulties than it solves. In the first place, a duple rhythm implies that a secondary stress falls at the mid-point of the quadrisyllabic foot. If ó Bruadair had actually imagined the lines in duple rhythm, one would expect him to have placed stressable syllables in the appropriate position for such secondary stress, at least in some of the lines. He clearly has not done this--with the result that, if we try to pronounce the lines in duple rhythm, we end by quite inappropriately stressing such words as the definite article, prepositions, and forms of the surname prefix ó. A second and even greater difficulty with such an interpretation lies in the length of the penultimate syllable--for, as we can see, nearly all of the lines end not merely with one long syllable, but with two. As our discussion of relative syllabic

quantities in the last chapter showed, the length of a syllable vis-à-vis its neighbours is not appreciably diminished by the relegation of the syllable in question to a non-ictic position in the line. If, however, we assume the above lines to be duple rather than triple in rhythm, we must somehow shorten this long penult in order to fit it into the context of smooth quadrisyllabic movement--such movement being, as we noticed, prerequisite to the perception of rhythm as duple in the first place. Had ó Bruadair been careful to avoid a long penult in the line, it would have been possible for the above lines to fulfil the requirements for duple rhythm, our first objection to such an analysis notwithstanding. In words like *casóg* and *oileán*, for example, the vowel of the first syllable is very often reduced or affected by syncope or metathesis. We shall see numerous examples of verse in which such unstressed initial syllables fall quite comfortably within the remiss of a foot, allowing the final long syllable to fall at a position of ictus. The problem here, however, is that disyllables containing two long vowels are incapable, when affected by forward stress, of falling in so handily with metrical requirements. ó Bruadair clearly intended the penult to be long; we must, therefore, assume the long penultimate syllables to constitute an important part of the artistic effect at which he was aiming. This conclusion is supported, in about a third of the lines, by the occurrence of long /u:/ as an ornament on the penultimate syllable. Accordingly it would seem appropriate for a metrical analysis to regard these syllables as stressed, rather than unstressed, and thus the overall rhythmic character of the lines as triple, rather than duple. Even so we must allow the cadential foot to differ in character from that of the more usual pattern, where the two syllables may be said to be in roughly a two-to-one, long-short quantity relationship. In this case the two syllables of the cadence are perceptibly equivalent in weight--rather like the syllables in the penultimate foot of the line

/Ábhar /deargtha /leacan do /mhnaoi Chuinn /é

which we examined in the last chapter.

Finally, there remains the problem--if it is a problem--of the ornamentation of the line. It is certainly true to say that line-end ornamentation normally falls upon the last stressed syllable in the line; and if we agree that, for rhythmical reasons, the last stressed syllable in the above lines is the penult we have what appears to be an exceptional case in ornamental terms. I think, however, we may resolve our difficulty if we remember that in ordinary speech ó Bruadair would probably have regarded the final syllables of words like *gáirdín*, *brístí* as being stressed. Unable to place such syllables in the position of ictus without doing violence to the long syllables preceding, he has nevertheless here managed to assert the importance of these syllables--and the importance of forward stress in his own Irish--by marking them with an ornamental feature which he withholds from the previous syllable. Thus he enables the verse to embody a pleasant conflict between the final two syllables in each line, the first of which is, we may say, metrically stressed, while the second is rendered of nearly equal importance by the presence of an ornamental feature and possibly also by the presence of some degree of pitch-prominence.⁷

4.1.3 Line-type 2.3

The sample contains several examples of a two-stress line-type with a trisyllabic cadential foot:

- (k) A /mhná na /muitseana
 is na /ngad /suinceana,
 do /bheadh sibh /sruimilte
 dá /ngabhadh sibh /Muisire
 is an /cnoc ba /ghiorra dhó
 /fé mar a /dhineas-sa. (ND 3:9, ll. 1-6)^a
- (l) A /íosa /bheannaithe,
 /bíonn tú i /bParthas
 ag /sábháil ár /n-anama,
 /saor ón /bpeaca sinn,
 ó /smaointe /mallaithe,
 ó /bhás /anobann,
 ó /bhreith /dhamanta,
 /Chuir tú cith /allais díot
 i /nGáirdín na /nOlachrann.
 ós /tú a /cheannaigh sinn,
 go mba /tú a /ghlacfas sinn. (APD:no. 397)

- (m) Mara /mbeadh an /bholgach
 is an /bás /dorcha
 is an /fiabhras /spotaitheach,
 bheadh an /marc-shlua /borb-san
 is a /srianta á /gcrothadh acu
 ag /déanamh /fothraim
 ag /teacht dod /shocraid
 a /Airt an /bhrollaigh ghil. (CAL:11. 255-62)³

The underlined words in examples (l) and (m) illustrate the fact that epenthetic syllables appear to be considered just as 'real' for metrical purposes as are those whose existence is acknowledged in writing; we shall, indeed, find this to be true to a greater lesser extent in all accentual verse in Irish.

All three of the examples just quoted embody the characteristic triple accentual pattern of the 2.3 line-type:

~ / / ~ / / ~ ~

Note that this pattern varies from the 2.1 and 2.2 patterns in normally having only one or, more commonly, two syllables in the first complete foot, suggesting that a sequence of two consecutive trisyllabic feet is possibly to be avoided in lines of this length. Two further examples, however, fail to confirm this:

- (n) An /óige is an /amaideacht,
 is /doiligh a /cheannaireacht. (SU:31)
- (o) /Sláinte 'gus /saol agat,
 /bean ar do /mhian agat,
 /talamh gan /cíos agat,
 /leanbh gach /bliain agat
 /airgead /síos agat
 ón /mhí seo a/mach. (SU:179)¹⁰

In these examples we find both feet in each line to be trisyllabic, giving the whole a rolling, jig-like character:

~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~

Note that in example (o) this cantering trisyllabic movement is brought to a halt by the use of a line corresponding to the 2.1 type.

In the main, the five examples of the 2.3 type that we have just examined present no particular problem to the metrist; the position of ictus is uniformly occupied by stressable syllables, whilst the remiss contains, for the most part, naturally unstressed syllables or grammatical words. The result is, in every case, clear and unsophisticated. One final example, however, demonstrates a slightly higher level of rhythmic complexity:

- (p) Tos/óidh mé ag an /talamh leat;
 bhí /dhá chois /dheasa agat,
 /dhá cheathrú /gheala agat,
 /com seang /cailce agat,
 /dhá shlinneán /leathana,
 /déad péarlach /glan agat,
 /grua álainn /dathamhail,
 /súil chaoín /ghlas agat,
 tré a /dtug na mná /taitneamh duit (O'M:24-5)

Here the first complete foot in each line is of a character slightly different from that which we see in the first three examples. Rather than containing one naturally-stressed syllable followed by one or two naturally unstressed ones, many of the lines in this example feature destressed lexical items in the remiss of this first complete foot. In nearly all cases destressing has occurred for natural linguistic reasons and has not been metrically imposed, the only possible exception being in the last line, where *mná* would probably receive full pre-nuclear stress in the context of normal speech. The overall effect of this phenomenon on the character of the line is to create a series of more subtle quantity-relationships among syllables in the first complete foot of each line. It is, I think, significant that this level of increased subtlety is maintained throughout the paragraph--further proof, if it were needed, that Irish poets are well aware of such rhythmical effects and use them consciously to the advantage of their verse.

4.1.4 Line-type 3.1

The sample contains more examples of type 3.1 verse than it does of type 2.1. These examples are in the main quite straightforward:

- (a) A /Mhic do /chuaigh sa /chrann
is do /lig orainn /fuil do /bhall.
/Sid é /chgainn an /t-am,
is ná /lig ár /n-anam i /ngeall. (APD: no. 272)
- (b) A /mhná so a/mach ag /gol
/stadaidh /ar bhur /gcois
go nglaofaidh /Art Mhac /Conchubhair /deoch,
agus /tuilleadh thar /cheannna /mbocht,
sula /dtéann is/teach don /scoil--
ní hag /foghlaim /léinn ná /port,
ach ag /iompar /cré agus /cloch. (CAL: 11. 384-90)¹¹
- (c) Mo /chara /thú is mo /shearc,
a /leoin d'fhuil /uasal /cheart,
go /dtéadh do /litir i /bhfad
ó /thuaidh /agus ó /dheas
is /siar go Thrá /Lí is/teach,
go /Corcaigh a/rís thar /n-ais,
mar a /gcaithfeadh na /breithiúin /stad,
is /giúistís/i na /mbreab,
go /gcuirteá /dhíot do /cheacht
go /ciúin /agus go /ceart,
is go /ligteá /braighde a/mach
do /bhíodh go /doimhin fé /ghlas. (ND 3:9, 11. 38-49)¹²
- (d) Ní /thuigeann an /sáthach an /seang
nuair a /bhíos a /bholg féin /teann. (SU:176)
- (e) /Míle /bliain ag fás,
/míle /bliain ag /stát,
/míle /bliain ar /lár,
/míle /bliain de /bharr,
is ina /dhiaidh sin /bainfear /clár
/donn /daraí as a /lár. (SU:55)

In all of these examples the underlying pattern of the lines is clearly triple, a significant proportion of the feet embodying long-short disyllabic movement:

~ / ˈ ~ / ˈ ~ / ˈ

It would appear, however, not uncommon for either of the two non-final feet to contain three syllables--although this does not seem to occur in two consecutive feet in the same line.

There are a few lines among those quoted above which contain only two natural stresses (e.g. in the second example /stadaidh /ar bhur /gcois; in the third, ó /thuaidh /agus ó /dheas, /giúistís/i na

/mbreab, go /ciúin /agus go /ceart). In order to render these lines equal in length to the others in the same paragraph it is necessary to invest naturally unstressed syllables with artificial stress so that they may occupy positions of ictus. The effect of this artificiality may, however, be somewhat mitigated in spoken performance by the omission of the pitch-prominence which normally attaches to a stressed syllable.

4.1.5 Line-type 3.2

Examples of line-type 3.2, like those illustrating type 2.3, reveal that more than one type of generalised accentual pattern is possible. First we have what we might regard as the primary pattern, in that it most closely resembles the majority of other *rosc* patterns:

- (f) Mo /chara /thú is mo /chumann
 is /deirid na /mná so /liomsa
 go /ndéanfá /ceannaithe a /bhriseadh,
 is gur /agat a bheadh /túrleacan an /ime;
 go /gcuirfeá /long ar /uisge,
 is go /dtabharrfá a/nall leat /bruinneall
 's a /cothrom /óir 'na /coinnibh,
 a /Dhiarmaid mhic /Eoghain na /Tuinne,
 gur /ghile liom /tú im /choinnibh
 ná an /giúistís /is ná an /breitheamh
 is ná /méara an /chána /dheirg. (ND 3:9, ll. 7-17)¹³
- (g) Mo /chara /thú is mo /thaitneamh!
 Nuair /ghabhais a/mach an /geata
 /d'fhillis ar /ais go /tapaidh,
 do /phógais do /dhís /leanbh,
 do phógais /mise ar /bharra /baise.
 Dúraís, 'A /Eibhlín, éirigh id /sheasamh
 agus /cuir do /ghnó chun /taisce
 go /luaimneach /is go /tapaidh.
 /Táimse ag fág/áil an /bhaile,
 is ní /móide go /deo go /gcasfainn.'
 Níor /dheineas dá /chaint ach /magadh,
 mar bhíodh á /rá liom go /minic /cheana. (CAL:ll. 167-78)¹⁴

The majority of lines in these two examples may be said to conform to a generalised accentual pattern expressed thus:

u / 1 u u / 1 u / 1 u

Again in these examples it is rare to find two consecutive trisyllabic feet in a line; rather the preference seems to be for the first complete foot to contain three syllables and the second to contain two. Two further examples present a picture similar but not quite identical to this one:

- (h) /Lá Fhéil' /Bríde /bricín
 /cuir an /scian sa /fircín,
 is /tabhair a /sháith don /dailtín. (SU:127)
- (i) Tá /ceart gan /blas ag an /Ultach
 tá /blás gan /ceart ag an /Muimhneach
 tá /ceart agus /blas ag an /gConnachtach,
 agus níl /ceart ná /blas ag an /Laighneach. (SU:179)

Example (h), whilst maintaining a triple rhythm by means of the contrast between long and short syllables, contains no trisyllabic feet at all, giving the pattern:

◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡

And in example (i) we find that the position of the trisyllabic foot has been changed, so that it falls immediately before the cadence:

◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡

There are, even so, three more examples which have rhythmically less in common with those just given than they have with examples 2.3(n) and (o) (§4.1.3 above). In these the triple rhythm has seemingly been consciously regularised so that not just one but both of the non-final feet contain trisyllabic movement, embodying the pattern

◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡

- (j) De /bheathasa /chugainn, a /shagairt
 a /theachtaire /Dé ar an /talamh.... (APD:no. 81)
- (k) 'S nách /mór a dí/chéili don /chàilín
 Veh a /ruih i níeg /éamon na /Gealúi,
 'S ná /diànhach shé /gort dí na /garuí,
 Ach gwáil /erhi le /spéici mà /dairí! (Free.:291)
- (l) /Tógfadh sé /atuirse 's /brón díbh,
 an /aisling do /chonarc air /Mhóirín;
 an /bhanaltra /bhréagach,
 do /tháil ar gach /aoin neach,
 ó /d'imthigh a /chéile--mo /bhrón í! (PPM:260)

Whilst example (j) is representative of the sort of poetry we have come to expect in the *rosc* metres, the latter two examples represent a substantial departure in that respect. Both are, in fact, stanzas from songs--the first songs, as such, to be represented among our survey of *rosc* verse--and comic songs, at that. More significantly, from the metrical point of view, they both embody a certain metrical ambiguity at the cadence--an ambiguity to which we shall have cause to draw attention often, particularly in the context of Munster verse, and verse of a more learned type. Bearing in mind the phenomenon of forward stress as it operates in Munster Irish, it is legitimate to question the above interpretations on the grounds that, according to the rules pertaining to forward stress, the final stress should fall not on the penult but rather on the final syllable in the line, thus:

'S nách /mór a dí/chéili don /chàilín

and similarly (although forward stress, as such, is not involved):

/Tógfadh sé /atuirse 's /brón /díbh

This would, of course, give us a four-stress line, not a three-stress one, and some people may prefer the four-stress interpretation as reflecting more accurately the fact that forward stress is a feature of both Munster speech and poetry. On the other hand, the four-stress interpretation may lead to awkward reading of lines like those quoted above: not only does it require that the cadential stress--the nuclear stress--of the lines fall on syllables which, aside from their vocalic length, are insignificant to the meaning of those lines, but these stressed syllables follow immediately after other stressed syllables in the preceding feet, with no unstressed syllables intervening. Investigators into the phenomenon of forward stress have found that, in some significant cases, the presence of a normally-stressed word (e.g. an adjective) immediately following a disyllabic word affected by forward stress is sufficient to restore stress in the latter word to the initial syllable: the example usually cited is that of the pronunciation of *caí'lín* versus '*cailín* 'maith. Here metrical requirements have given rise to a similar situation, only in reverse. In the first line of example (k) above the first syllable of *cailín* receives stress. We know this is so, not least because that syllable

assonates with the first syllables of *Gealúi*, *garúi*, and *dairí* in succeeding lines. In normal speech, however, these initial syllables would normally go unstressed. The awkwardness arises out of the necessity of pronouncing two fully-stressed monosyllabic feet in succession, and results in an unnatural slowing-down of the rhythm of the lines--an effect very unlikely to have been intended by the composers of either of the two examples cited above. It is far more likely, in fact, that their intentions were to exploit the ambiguity of the situation, enhancing the boundary-marking function of the cadential foot by ornamenting not just one of the syllables upon which stress could logically fall, but both of them. Fortunately we have, in the musical setting for the first of these examples, what I think we may regard as confirmation of this interpretation: Freeman's transcription of the air accompanying this text shows the final two syllables of lines 1 and 3 sung to two stressed notes in two separate bars--a musical setting consistent with the four-stress interpretation of the lines--while in lines 2 and 4 the final disyllable is sung to a single bar of music, a strong beat falling on the first syllable alone (Free.:290). In other words, the musical setting underlines the ambiguous character of the lines, exploiting the potentiality for rhythmical variation within them. In what follows we shall find the exploitation of ambiguity in this fashion to be a favourite device of more learned poets and song-makers, from Munster and elsewhere.

We should, however, consider this last pattern something of a departure in the general context of the *rosc* metres as they are used in our period. In most of the examples we have seen--excluding for the moment the three just quoted and the two examples of type 2.3 to which I presently referred--a pattern of consecutive trisyllabic feet seems generally to be avoided. It may be significant that examples (k) and (l) above, as well as examples 2.3(n) and (o), depart thematically from the usual rather solemn character of *rosc* verse, being clearly comic or, at least, jocular in intent. The rolling trisyllabic movement which these examples illustrate may have been considered too dance-like in character for serious themes like prayer or lamentation, and thus have been enabled to escape the more-or-less exclusive association with ritual which characterises the use of *rosc* generally.

Finally, a stanza which departs even more markedly from the usual sort of poetry one expects to find in *rosc* metre is the following, by the seventeenth-century Ulster poet Diarmaid Ruadh Mac Muireadhaigh:¹⁵

- (m) Nach /bradach dhuit, a /ainnir an ghoib /chumhra
mar /ghadais ó na /beachaibh a scoth/chnuasach
trér /cheangail tú mé i /bpeaca go ro/thnúthach
bheith ag /blaiseadh bhur /meala gan ro/dhiúltadh. (ND 1:44)

Here again the poet--notwithstanding his Ulster origins--appears to appreciate the potentiality for artistic subtlety in a line-ending which is rhythmically ambiguous. One could, of course, place the ca-dential stress on the first syllables of *scothchnuasach*, *rothnúthach*, and *rodhiúltadh*: this is, in fact, probably how the poet himself would have pronounced these words, not being a Munster man. On the other hand, to do so would result in considerable rhythmical disruption in the earlier part of the line, where a clearly duple rhythmic pattern has been established--significantly, the first instance of duple rhythm in the context of *rosc* that we have seen. At the same time, the poet underlines the fact that the first syllables of these words contain potentiality for stress by his use of double ornamentation, employing a short /o/ assonance in the antepenult, and a long /u:/ in the penultimate syllable of the line.

4.1.6 Line-type 3.3

Examples of type 3.3 are not plentiful in the sample, and it may be germane to the above arguments that, of those which the sample does reveal, none is drawn from a *caoine*. One does, however, occur in the context of a prayer:

- (n) /Réir /Dé go /ndéanaimid
/beatha na /naomh go /dtuillimid
/ceol na /n-aingeal go /gcloisimid
agus /radharc na /bhFlaitheas go /bhfeicimid. (APD:no. 197)

∪ / ˊ (∪) / ˊ ∪ / ˊ ∪ ∪

(Note that brackets enclosing any rhythmical feature, for example (∪) in this formula, indicate that the feature is optional and is omitted from a significant number of lines.) This example is, of course,

quite traditional--not only in terms of its genre, but also in that it largely avoids consecutive trisyllabic feet. Two further examples, however, differ from this one in much the same way that examples 3.2(k) and (l) differ from others of the 3.2 type:

- (o) Mur mbeith /léirscrios ar /Ghaelaibh ó /shean-Fhódla,
is gur /réabadh na /tréinfhir ba /neartchumhachtach,
is go bhfuil /léan ar mo /léigheann ón /reacht nuasa
ní /bheinn agat, a /éamainn, mar /theanónta. (ND 2:1)
- (p) Nach /léar dheitse /Gaeil bhochta na /glanáille,
na /héachtchoin nach /géilleann dá /n-eascairdibh,
/spréite fón /éaraip 'na /sealbhánaibh,
gan /spré ghlan, gan /éadach, gan /deá-tháinte? (ND 1:57)

As in the case of examples 3.2(k) and (l), these two quatrains are drawn not from prayers, proverbs, or *caointe*, but from poems by learned poets: the first is by the seventeenth-century poet Fear Flatha ó Gnímh, who served the Uí Néill Chloinne Aodha Bui and came from north Antrim; the second appears to have been composed by a seventeenth-century Fermanagh poet living in France. Both poems embody a considerable amount of trisyllabic movement--only the foot /Gaeil bhochta na/ in the first line of example (p) being irregular in this respect--and provide further evidence that while an excess of trisyllabic movement may have been considered inappropriate in the context of a *caoine* or a prayer, it was perfectly permissible in other contexts. Most significantly, however, both of these Ulster poets, in common with Diarmaid Ruadh Mac Muireadhaigh, demonstrate by their use of double ornaments in the cadential foot that they fully appreciate the subtlety of what we may call the 'ambiguity principle' discussed above. This principle may have had its origin in the Munster phenomenon of forward stress, but clearly it had become an established feature of learned verse-practice throughout the country from an early date.

Finally, an example which perhaps represents the ultimate development of *rosc* metre at the hands of a learned poet is the following, by Aindrias Mac Craith:

- (q) A /dhalta dhil an /dainid libh mo /chás anois,
dom /chartadh tiugh, ag /eaglais gan /fáth ar bith;
an /aicme sin ní /ghlacaíd mé acht im /fhánaire,
's ní /ghabhaid liom im /protestan ná im /pápaire.¹⁶

This quatrain demonstrates its author's love of metrical complexity and sophistication in a number of ways, principal among them the fact that the prevailing rhythm of the lines is not triple but duple:

◡ / ˈ ◡ ◡ ◡ / ˈ ◡ ◡ ◡ / ˈ ◡ ◡

The correctness of this interpretation can be in no doubt, considering that the poet has ornamentally embellished not only the primary stressed syllables in the lines, but in many cases also the secondary stresses:

A /dhalta dhil, an /dainid libh mo /chás anois,
dom /chartadh tiugh, ag /eaglais gan /fáth ar bith...

While this example, along with example 3.2(m) above, demonstrates that duple rhythm was not an entirely unknown phenomenon in the context of *rosc* metre, I think we can safely gather from the very scant degree of attestation that it represents a fairly late innovation in the development of these two- and three-stress metres overall.

4.1.7 Summary

The following list summarises the accentual patterns we have so far encountered among the two- and three-stress line-types. Some of these patterns were, as we saw, attested in a number of examples, whilst others appear in only one. For the sake of brevity and ease of reference each pattern is represented numerically, rather than symbolically as has been the case in the foregoing discussion. Thus the 2.1 pattern which we earlier gave in this form

◡ / ˈ ◡ ◡ / ˈ

we here represent as follows

/ 3 / 1 /

indicating that the first foot contains three syllables, and the cadence is monosyllabic. Because this is the most common of the type 2.1 patterns it is designated pattern 2.1(a), the (a) in this case referring not to the example cited in illustration of the pattern (al-

though in this case it could well do so), but indicating that this pattern is to be regarded as the most important of those cited for line-type 2.1. The designation (d.o.) at the end of a pattern indicates that the pattern in question, while syllabically identical to another pattern, contains a double ornament or some other feature either at the cadence or, less commonly, in some other foot, and may thus be of greater rhythmical subtlety than the primary pattern-type cited.

Two-stress patterns

2.1(a)	/ 3 / 1 /	[exx. 2.1(a)-(d)]
2.2(a)	/ 3 / 2 /	[exx. 2.2(e)-(i)]
2.2(b)	/ 3 / 2 / (d.o.)	[ex. 2.2(j)]
2.3(a)	/ 2 / 3 /	[exx. 2.3(k)-(m)]
2.3(b)	/ 3 / 3 /	[exx. 2.3(n)-(o)]
2.3(c)	/ 2 (✓) / 3 / (d.o.)	[exx. 2.3(p)]

Three-stress patterns

3.1(a)	/ 2 (✓) / 2 (✓) / 1 /	[exx. 3.1(a)-(c)]
3.2(a)	/ 3 / 2 / 2 /	[exx. 3.2 (f)-(g)]
3.2(b)	/ 2 / 2 / 2 /	[ex. 3.2(h)]
3.2(c)	/ 2 / 3 / 2 /	[ex. 3.2(i)]
3.2(d)	/ 3 / 3 / 2 /	[ex. 3.2(j)]
3.2(e)	/ 3 / 3 / 2 / (d.o.)	[exx. 3.2(k)-(l)]
3.2(f)	/ 4 / 4 / 2 / (d.o.)	[ex. 3.2(m)]
3.3(a)	/ 2 / 2 / 3 /	[ex. 3.3(n)]
3.3(b)	/ 3 / 3 / 3 / (d.o.)	[exx. 3.3(o)-(p)]
3.3(c)	/ 4 / 4 / 3 / (d.o.)	[ex. 3.3(q)]

4 : NOTES

1. See also ll. 238-40. Both of the paragraphs in CAL in which this line-type occurs are composed predominantly of lines of type 3.1.
2. Hogan 1895:83. I am grateful to Prof. James Carney for drawing my attention to this material.
3. By 'generalised accentual pattern' we mean that pattern which most closely represents the majority of the lines, and which thus embodies the impression carried in all of them. Individual lines here and there may diverge from the pattern without challenging its overall validity. The situation is similar to that of iambic pentameter in English: many lines classed as iambic pentameter may, as we saw in Ch. 2, be largely non-iambic; but this fact does not deter the brain from relating their movement to that of the underlying generalised pattern of five successive iambic feet.
4. Campbell and Collinson 1969:154-5 (ll. 1349-57). Note that in the Scottish context the use of two- and three-stress line types is far more widespread, and is not generically restricted, as appears largely to be the case in Irish--although the example quoted does conform to the stereotype in being a lament.
5. See also ll. 54-61, 96-128, 136-59, 211-33, 246-54, 279-305, 341-57, and 358-71. The same pattern is also to be found in ND 3:11-13, ll. 61-101 and 114-43.
6. The words *sciursaidhe*, *diuicibh*, and *ghiuisdís* should probably have been pronounced with long /u:/; but we follow our usual practice here, as elsewhere, in giving the verse precisely as it appears in the source consulted, unless otherwise noted. Note that *rosc* is here used in the context of what appears to be a satire.
7. See above, Ch. 3, n. 22.
8. See also ll. 18-37 and 102-13.
9. See also ll. 1-35 and 306-14.
10. For some unstated reason Morris has substituted 'dea-fhómhar' for 'leanbh' in line 4, although he acknowledges in a footnote that it was the latter word which occurred in his manuscript source. I myself have heard 'leanbh' used in this toast; and as the word is rhythmically more suitable in the line I have restored it here.
11. See also ll. 129-35, 160-6, 179-93, and 315-36.
12. See also ll. 50-60.
13. See also ll. 144-55.
14. See also ll. 44-53, 62-95, 194-210, 263-78, and 337-40.

15. There are a number of lines in this poem which would be more appropriately analysed as type 4.2, for example:

Gé /blasta linn a /gcanair ná /rogha an /mhúisic,
is gé /taitneamhaí a /chlaistean ná /soine /chiúilchith,
ní /fheadar cá /talamh don /fhoghail /chiúin sin
munab ó /Shacsaibh do /bhradais an /foghar /liúite.

This interpretation is, however, unlikely in the case of lines like those in example (m), as it would require the penultimate foot to consist of a single syllable containing a short vowel. Whilst this is perfectly possible where such syllables constitute fully-stressed lexical words in their own right, it seems unlikely that the intensifying prefix *ro-* (ll. 3-4) should be expected to occupy an entire foot on its own. There is, of course, an area of ambiguity between the 3.3 and 4.2 line-types which we would be wrong to ignore; we have, indeed, hinted at this already in our discussion of examples 3.2 (k) and (l) above, and we shall be returning to the question in Ch. 6 below.

16. ó Foghludha 1957:196. The version given in this edition is preferable in many ways to that in IPS:138, although it is the latter version which has been tabulated in the sample.

5 : TAXONOMY :

THE PHRASAL CONSTRUCTION OF IRISH VERSE

5.0 As Appendix A demonstrates, examples of the two- and three-stress *rosc* metres account for only a small number of the items included in our sample; and as we have seen, their use in the modern period has on the whole been restricted to compositions in a few specialised genres. One reason for their lack of more general popularity in modern times is presumably their association with ritual, and thus their deemed unsuitability for other, more worldly, types of compositions. Another and probably even greater factor must be the overwhelming popularity, at least from the time of the Anglo-Norman settlement and possibly from considerably earlier, of European song-forms, stanzaic structures requiring on the whole a line of at least four stresses in length. But granting that compositions in two- and three-stress metres make up an insignificant portion of the entire corpus, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that an understanding of these metres is essential to an understanding of all of the other linear structures of modern Irish verse.

5.1 Phrase and line

The line-types which we examined in the previous chapter may be regarded as primary linear units: that is to say, like prime numbers (which are incapable of being divided by any figure larger than one), they cannot be divided into components of any greater length than that of the basic structural integer, i.e. the foot. This cannot be said, however, of linear structures of four stresses or longer, as we may easily illustrate. Consider, for example, the following four-stress lines:

- (a) Is in /Eachroim an /áir : a/táid ina /gcónaí
 /taise na /gcnámh : ar /lár gan chónra
 bheir /greadadh na /lámh : ag /mná na /Fódhla
 na /leibh gan /aird : is na /gártha ag /deoraibh
 /tuilte ós /aird : gach /tráth de /dheoraibh. (SMC:63)

Allowing for the occasional occurrence of *báthadh* (e.g. *ina* = 'na, *is na* = 's na), these lines conform clearly to the pattern:

◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ : ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡

This pattern is one in which a rhythmical break is clearly audible in the middle of the second foot--not that the rhythm breaks down, or loses continuity, but rather that the trisyllabic movement of the first foot is not duplicated in the second, a circumstance which inclines the listener to perceive a small moment of stasis, of pause, in the middle of the second foot. The brain's natural tendency to perceive the line's rhythm as secondary, to hear the rhythmical events within it as grouped, contributes to this impression.' In the present context these rhythmic groups consist of two stresses, one such group in each half of the line, the second stress in each pair being perceived as the weightier. And such impressions as these are further reinforced by the ornamentation of the lines, by means of which the poet emphasises his own understanding of the rhythm and guides the listener's apprehension of it. One particular ornamental feature which we shall find very commonly associated with such internal boundary-marking is the occurrence of the same assonantal vowel in stressed syllables on either side of the boundary, as we see in the case of the long /a:/ vowels here. And a further confirmation of the appropriateness of this interpretation is supplied by the consistent coincidence, in this example, of the mid-line boundary with a minor syntactic break of some kind.

In the above example the line may be seen to be divided into two halves of equal length, each of which contains two feet. It is also possible, as the next example demonstrates, for the half-line to contain three feet:

- (b) Nach /tuirseach mo /thuras an /tráth so / λ
 ag /pilleadh ó /chlár na /Mí, / λ
 gan /duine 'mo /chuideacht sa /lá / λ
 nó /cumann le /mná san /oích'; / λ
 ach an /mhuintir a /chonaic mé /lá / λ
 is a /chraithfeadh dhá /láimh le /hAodh, / λ
 go /bhfuil siad a/nois ina /náimhde, / λ
 i /gcogadh le /bard is le /saoi. / λ (ND 2:66)

◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ : ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ / ◡ / λ
 i* i* a: i* a: i:

This stanza is, in spite of the spatial necessity of its being set out as eight lines, in fact a quatrain: the long line-final /i:/ occurs only four

times, whilst the line-medial /a:/ is picked up again in the second half of the line (here, in the penultimate foot, although it commonly occurs immediately following the mid-line boundary, as in our first example), indicating that it functions dually as a mid-line boundary marker and as a linking device, linking the two halves of the line together. In this the function of such *aicill* rhyme differs markedly from that of end-rhyme, whose principal role is that of setting off two metrically complete units from each other. An even more obvious mid-line boundary marker, however, is the silent stress occurring between the two phrases of the line (indicated in the accentual schema by the caret). The presence of such silent stresses, in fact, makes the presence of the *aicill* rhyme, with its linking function, quite essential; otherwise one might, indeed, be tempted to think of these three-stress units as independent metrical entities, i.e. lines in and of themselves, rather than as elements in a larger linear structure.

The organisation of the linear unit in most Irish accentual verse is, in fact, basically and essentially phrasal. Professor James Carney recognised this phenomenon in the context of certain O. Ir. accentual poems, where he defines the phrase as 'the basic prosodic unit in which...there are always two stresses...and which tends to be linked to the preceding and succeeding phrase by either alliteration, internal rhyme or consonance, or by a combination of such links' (1971:23, n. 3). He goes on to define the 'line' as 'the group of phrases that ends with the main systematic rhyme'--the definition which is assumed here. One may, of course, argue with certain aspects of Carney's view of metre, in particular (1) his failure to recognise the existence of three-stress phrases (which would have facilitated his discussion of *ochtfhoclach mór* on pp. 60-1), (2) his assumption that epenthesis could be considered a feature of virtually any disyllable containing a medial consonant cluster (e.g. *bresgail*, *slogdae*, *tuathmar* in addition to more acceptable *Carmuin*, *angbuid*, *talman*), and (3) his insistence that stress may fall on the final syllables of trisyllabic words, for the reason that such words often occur in positions in the verse-structure where one may also occasionally find a disyllable followed by a monosyllable, both stressed. In spite of such difficulties, however, Carney's analysis would seem to come closer than any other to providing a key to unlocking the secrets of Irish accentual verse-structure. There can be little doubt that his perception

of the phrasal organisation of his O. Ir. examples is substantially correct, nor that this insight carries enormous implications for our analysis of Irish verse-structure in more modern times.

Thus far we have seen only lines consisting of phrases of equivalent length; but a line containing an odd number of stresses must, logically, be made up of phrases of different length. In the first line of the following example I have taken the liberty of re-spelling 'Bhaile Átha Cliath' as 'Bhleá Cliath' to illuminate the rhythmical character of the penultimate foot in the line:

(c) /D'aithneoinn mo /ghrá : taobh /thall de /gheataí Bhleá
 /Cliath
 is /d'aithneoinn mo /ghrá : ar /lár na /tamhnaí úd /thiar
 /teann liom a/nall : is /fáisc mé i/steach le do /chroí
 is ní /scarfaidh mo /ghrá leat : go /bráth go /dté mé
 i /gcill. (ND 3:44)

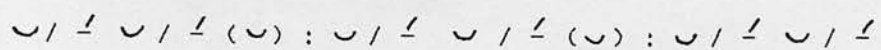
The five-stress line is one of the most common and uniform line-types in the entire canon, as we shall see in some detail in Ch. 7 below. Nearly all examples of this line-type end in a monosyllable (in a very few the cadence is disyllabic); most are triple in rhythm; and without exception they consist of a two-stress phrase followed by one of three stresses--as in the example given here, which embodies one of the commonest accentual patterns for this line-type:²

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / }$
 a: a: - i: (=ia)

As in example (a) above, we find the same ornamental feature occurring on either side of the boundary between the two phrases; and here we should perhaps mention the significant fact that ornamentation, however dispensable in certain positions within the line (as in the first and fourth feet here), is nearly always present in some form at the phrase-boundary, as well as at the end of the line.

Two further examples may serve to illustrate the function of these short phrases in building up the larger linear structures of Irish verse. The first of these is another six-stress line, but differs markedly from example (b) above in being composed not of two three-stress phrases, but rather of three phrases of two stresses each:

- (d) /Cois na /Brighde : /seal do /bhíos-sa : go /súgach /sámh
 ag /tarraing /síos : ar /ainnir /chaoín : an /úrla /bháin
 ba /ghile /píb : ná /eala 'r /linn : 's ná /drúcht ar /bhán;
 's ní /coig/críoch mé : ach /buachaill /bríoghmar, :
 ó /Dhún na /mbád. (ACF:182)


 (i*) i: (i*) i: u: a:

The organisation of such a three-phrase line differs significantly from one containing only two phrases. In the latter type the two halves of the line are perceived to be in equilibrium with each other: this is true even in the case of the five-stress line, where the two phrases are of unequal length. The ornamentation of the phrase-boundary may reinforce this impression, the second phrase in the line to some degree representing, in ornamental terms, a mirror-image of the first. In this present example, however, we see the operation--at least, in the ornamental sphere--of a principle which we shall increasingly recognise as having an important bearing on a number aspects of verse-structure in Irish, from the construction of the line (as here) to that of the larger structures of the verse. This principle we may call that of 'reduplication and contrast'. Fundamental to it is the notion of the elaboration of some feature or features--whether accentual, ornamental, or both--into a repetitive pattern which is then placed in opposition to another pattern, defined in different accentual and/or ornamental terms.³ In the case of the lines I have just quoted we may see that the first two phrases in each line are rhythmically and ornamentally similar--i.e. the pattern of the first phrase is reduplicated in the second--whilst the third phrase contrasts with them, at least in terms of its ornamentation. Thus the entire line, rather than possessing the open-and-shut binary structure of our earlier examples, represents instead an accumulation of repeated and contrasting elements. And there is no law limiting the number of such elements to three. In the next example we follow the editor of *Nua-Dhuanair II* in assuming *Cathal* to be monosyllabic /ka:l/ in the northern fashion:

(e) A /chuisle 's a /stór,
 is a /ghrá na mban /óg,
 is a /chois deas i /mbróg,
 is /áille /gnaoi
 níl /caiptín ó /Bhóinn
 go /Doire na /seol
 a /scaipfeadh an /t-ór
 mar /Chathal Mac /Aoidh. (ND 2:46)

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √
 - o: - o: - o: a: i:

Here the line contains eight stressed syllables in all, and may be divided into four two-stress phrases, the final phrase presenting both an accentual and an ornamental contrast to the three preceding. This type of linear structure is one of the most popular Irish verse-forms, called *ochtfhoclach*; it has been described by ó Donnchadha and others as representing the shape of the shamrock: 'three leaves and a stalk'.

The term *ochtfhoclach* originates in the context of syllabic versification, which specifies two types, i.e. *ochtfhoclach mór* (6²6²6²5¹) and *ochtfhoclach bec* (5²5²5²4¹). As a number of writers have observed, the breaking up of the half-stanza into short segments with fixed-rhythm cadential patterns tended to impart a certain rhythmicity even to these syllabic compositions; it is therefore hardly surprising that there should also exist numerous accentual (i.e. syllabically freer) manifestations of the same structure--whatever the *terminus a quo* for both types might eventually be proven to be. Carney would refer to a stanza such as the above as being 'eight-phrased', and seems to suggest that the number of phrases in the stanza (rather than the number of stressed words in the line) were what early Irish metrists were counting when they coined the term *ochtfhoclach* (1971:56). This may be so, granted that (a) stanzas in the Old Irish context would normally consist of only two long linear units, rather than four as commonly in modern times, and (b) both *ochtfhoclach mór* (which may be seen as embodying twelve stresses per line) and *ochtfhoclach bec* (eight stresses per line) would have four phrases in each such linear unit, and thus eight in the stanza as a whole. Subsequently, however, the term *ochtfhoclach* has, in the context of accentual verse, come solely to indicate the ornamental pattern 3A+B with which the *ochtfhoclach* forms are normally associated, and this has

led to the classification as *ochtfhoclach* of certain seven-stress lines which also use this ornamental pattern.

5.2 Phrase and 'caesura'

It will perhaps have been noticed that we have so far refrained from identifying the phrase-boundary as a 'caesura', which latter term the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines, in the context of modern prosody, as 'a pause near the middle of the line'. The reason for this restraint is simply that, in many instances, the phrase-boundary is not inevitably indicated by a perceptible pause in the rhythm of the line: rather, ornamental features such as those I have already described, along with the weak-strong alternation inherent in the perception of secondary rhythm, appear to be sufficient to indicate phrasal entities, even where some of the phrase-boundaries are seemingly ignored by the accentual pattern of the line. In the following case, for example, the line seems rhythmically divisible into two halves--rather than into three phrases--although the phrasal divisions within the longer first half are reflected in the ornamental scheme:

- (f) Ar /hallai chois /Finne in /imeall a' /chuain
 tá an /ainnir thug /buaidh ar /áille
 an /plannda is /gile a thug /binneas ón /chuaich
 is tá /deallramh gan /ghruaim sa /stáid-mhnaoi. (CT:17)

a i i ua a ua a:

Clearly the ornamentation allows us to consider the first half of the line as being composed of two phrases, even though the cantering trisyllabic movement of these four feet seems to ignore the phrase-boundary. The line as a whole contains only one genuine caesura, which falls between the fourth and fifth stressed syllables. Caesura, then, may be said to occur at any point in the line where the accentual pattern leads the listener to perceive a pause; and while such a pause will always coincide with a phrase-boundary, not all phrase-boundaries will be marked by caesuras. It is perhaps worth adding that lines of six or more stresses may well contain more than one caesura; Irish verse is not limited to one caesura per line.

Whilst caesuras may occur in any line containing four or more stresses, they are most certain to appear in lines containing at least six stresses. The most obvious means of marking a caesura is by means of a silent stress: we saw an example of this in example (b) above; and in what follows we shall note that a silent secondary stress (in the context, of course, of a duple rhythm) is also an effective caesura-marker. Where silent stress is not an option the listener's perception of a caesura may be triggered by some subtler rhythmic feature, one which somehow renders the foot containing the caesura significantly different from the one immediately preceding. In examples (a) and (c) above, the foot containing the caesura is disyllabic (the first syllable being long, the second short), in contrast to the preceding trisyllabic foot. The first syllable of this caesural foot, in addition to being long, is also (owing to the nature of the brain's perception of rhythmic phenomena) felt to carry a slightly 'heavier' stress than that embodied in the preceding stressed syllable. Both of these circumstances contrive to give this second foot a slightly cadential quality, in which the long, weighty first syllable seems momentarily to halt the movement of the line. The second syllable in this foot of course belongs rhythmically--and in many cases also syntactically--to the succeeding phrase, to which it acts as an anacrusis or 'up-beat'.

A feeling of caesura may also be achieved by allowing the foot in which it occurs to contain more, rather than fewer, syllables than the foot preceding. Consider the following:

(g) óch! a /bhean ud /thall, rún, is /duit is /fusa,
 Béidh do /mhac-sa /pósta le /céile /eile,
 /Maighdean /óg deas i /mbun a /leaptha
 A's mo /nighean 's mo /théagar ag /dul faoi /leacacha. (ACU:32)

(˘) / ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ : ˘ / ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘

This type of caesura-marking is perhaps not so common as the type which reduces the number of syllables in the foot containing the caesura, but it is nevertheless one for which we shall find ample evidence in what follows.

It is particularly important for our understanding of verse-structure that we fully appreciate how caesura operates--and, indeed, how

it does not operate. For this reason it is unfortunate that one of the most influential studies yet made of Irish metre for any period, that of Calvert Watkins (1963:194-249) fails properly to define this term. Watkins argues that a caesura sets off the fixed trisyllabic 'final' of the Irish heptasyllabic line (4/3) from the syllabically freer 'initial' of that line. The majority of his examples, however, embody no sense of a pause at this point in the line (cf. *áithem gaibes /tuinide* [221], *ní fírtellach /tuinidi* [221], *tellach tar fertai /céttellach* [221], *ní huchtat /óenmaige* [228], *sír gach /sendligid* [229]), and even in those few which, according to our rules, would seem to do so (e.g. *to-combat selb /sóertellug* [221], *co hocht lae /indnidi* [227]) the trisyllabic final would appear to be marked not so much by a temporal break as by a necessity for stress at that position in the line. Watkins, however, not only fails to recognise this fact, but is positively dismissive of the notion that what he calls 'stress rhythm' could be considered a 'constituent feature' of O. Ir. metre (247). Clearly, once the importance of stress falling on the first syllable of the final is recognised, it becomes necessary to examine the rhythmical character of the verse as a whole--a procedure which can only lead, in my opinion, to the conclusion that Old Irish versification is based not, as he argues, on a syllable-counting principle but upon an understanding of the workings of rhythm, an understanding derived from the stress-timed rhythm of normal Irish speech. Watkins' distinction between the 'long' line (often but not exclusively heptasyllabic) and the 'short' normally pentasyllabic line is, I would argue, in many respects parallel to our own distinction between three- and two-stress linear units (this suggestion has, in fact, already been hinted at by Carney [1971:62]). The basic difficulty with Watkins' argument lies, it seems to me, in its approach to the subject: rather than setting out to investigate archaic Irish versification on its own terms, Watkins seeks to confirm details of a postulated Indo-European verse-structure, using a methodology developed in (and presumably suited to) quite distinct linguistic contexts. In this respect his approach resembles that of the classical metrists which we examined earlier, and is no more satisfactory; for in his efforts to fit the Irish material into his postulated Indo-European framework he places himself in the position of having to 'explain away'--as deviant from the basic heptasyllabic pattern--lines which, examined from the point of view of rhythm, are in no way in need of such rationalisation.

5.3 Seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*: a small anomaly?

We earlier cited Prof. Carney's definition of the phrase, as he applies it to O. Ir. versification, as 'the basic prosodic unit in which...there are always two stresses....' (1971:23, n. 3). He himself, however, remarked that there were certain examples of 'eight-phrased' verse (i.e. the *ochtfhoclach* type) in which 'the fourth and eighth "phrase", having only a single stress...will not fit into the definition of "phrase"' used in his article (1971:56, n. 1). The type of line to which he was referring was the seven-stress line carrying the characteristic 3A+B ornamental pattern long associated with *ochtfhoclach* verse. Here is a modern example by Dáibhidh ó Bruadair, the lines ending in a trisyllable; I have altered the editor's more conventional arrangement of the lines in order more clearly to illustrate the stanza's structural features:

(h) A /bhéith na /lúb
 /ndréimionnach /ndlúith,
 /d'aontuigh /dúil
 /chealgach, / λ
 a /réiltionn /iuil
 na /méirdreach /siubhail,
 cé /haosta /tú
 a /sheanabhean, / λ
 is /clé dar /liom
 do /léigis /sonn
 /caomhshliocht /Niuil
 /tairpigh, / λ
 a /chéibhfhionn /úr
 is /aolta /múr
 fá /néalaibh /dúin
 /parathais. / λ (DOB:66)

(~) / ˈ ~ / ˈ : (˘) / ˈ ~ / ˈ : (˘) / ˈ ~ / ˈ : / ˈ ~ ~ / λ
 e: u: e: u: e: u: a

The difficulty here is plain enough: if Irish linear structures are made up of phrases containing at least two primary stresses, how should we explain the fact that the above linear units appear to end in a phrase containing only a single stressed syllable? There can be no doubt, I think, that we are to regard the cadential foot as cut off from what precedes it: not only is there a clear feeling of caesura between the sixth and seventh feet, but the seventh foot is also set off ornamentally from each of the three pairs of feet which have come before it, according to the principle of reduplication and contrast.

This type of seven-stress linear structure has been in existence for a very long time indeed. Carney cites the following stanza from the Leinster genealogies (1971:56):⁴

- (i) Glinnset coicthe
codda ler
lergga iath
nĒremōin:
iar loingis
Lōchet fiann
flaithi Gōedel
gabsus.

In terms of both type and placement of ornament, of course, this stanza differs markedly from the modern example: instead of the reduplication-and-contrast principle we here see all of the feet--regardless of accentual conformation--ornamented by means of *fidrad freccomail* or 'binding alliteration', i.e. alliteration which links one phrase with the next across the phrase-boundary. The unifying ornamental device used in the modern example, by contrast, is the main systematic rhyme used at the end of each seven-stress metrical unit, shorter subdivisions within that unit being delimited by means of the same sort of reduplicated paired assonances that we saw in examples (d) and (e) above.

A later example of this same accentual structure is to be found among the ninth-century monastic poems, the metre syllabically regularised and illuminated by a wider variety of ornamental devices:

- (j) In t-én bec
ro léic feit
do rinn guip
glanbuidi;
fo-ceird faíd
ós Loch Laig
lon do chraib
charnbuidi. (Murphy 1956:6)

Here we see not only alliteration proper but also a quite polished use of vowel assonances both internally and at the ends of the half-stanzas. The ornamental schema 3A+B is, in fact, firmly in place here; and one notices particularly how both assonantal and alliterative devices are used to set off the final foot--what would be the 'B' phrase--from what has come before.

Closer to our own period we find stanzas like the following, taken from a sixteenth-century poem addressed to Thomas, Earl of Ormond; as in the case of the ó Bruadair poem we have here altered the lay-out of the stanza better to illuminate its phrasal structure:

(k) /Taghaim /Tómás
 /ragha is /róghrádh
 /gacha /hógmhna
 /aolchrothaighe; / λ
 /toghaim dom /chumhdach
 /Biocunt /Dūrlais,
 /míleadh /múchda
 ar /mhēirleachaibh. / λ
 /Iarla /Urmhumhan
 /Iarla /fuinn(i)úil,
 /Iarla /cipeamhail
 /céimnightheach, / λ
 /Iarla /Osraighe,
 /Iarla /sochroidheach
 /Iarla as /cogthuighe
 /céad-eachtra. / λ

/ / ~ / / ~ : / / ~ / / ~ : / / ~ / / ~ / / ~ ~ / λ /

This stanza differs from the one by ó Bruadair in having a disyllable rather than a monosyllable in the second foot of each phrase, and in presenting an ornamental scheme in which the only constant factor throughout the stanza is the main systematic rhyme, the assonating long /e:/. Even so, each section of the stanza clearly displays the characteristic *ochtfhoclach* ornamental pattern 3A+B--the same pattern which is associated with the syllabic *ochtfhoclach* forms and with the parallel accentual patterns containing eight and twelve stresses per line. The association of this pattern with a line of seven stresses is thus manifestly anything but a recent innovation, and it may be this fact which is responsible for the term *ochtfhoclach* having come to comprehend not only eight- and twelve-stress accentual verse-forms, in which the half-stanza contains eight phrases, but certain types of seven-stress line as well, in spite of the fact that in terms of our phrase-theory the seven-stress line would appear to be one stress short.

Here, however, we must stop and ask ourselves if appearance may not be deceptive in this case: the 'B' element does, after all, contain two full stresses, one of them audible and the other silent. Could it be that our theory should admit the possibility of one stress in a phrase being

unarticulated, thus allowing what may previously have seemed a theoretical anomaly, namely, a two-stress phrase in which only one stress is audible? I do not think that we can doubt that silent stress is present, whether we be discussing relatively recent verse such as the above, or indeed examples like *Glinnset coicthe* and *In t-én bec*; we need only attempt to read any of this verse aloud, omitting the silent stress, to recognise immediately how important this measured silence is to the structural integrity of the verse. The simple fact is that, while the seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* line may appear anomalous from a purely theoretical point of view, in practical terms it presents no more difficulty to the poet or his audience than does, say, a line of three or five stresses, each of which similarly ends in a silent stress. The fact that these latter types of line can be accommodated by a theory of versification specifying phrases of two or three stresses, while this particular seven-stress type cannot, is really neither here nor there; it is, after all, the job of the metrist to fit his theoretical structure to the realities of the versification, rather than manipulate the facts to suit his theory.

As it happens, the seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* line--particularly the type ending in a trisyllable--has interested a number of writers who have attempted in various ways to trace its origins. As their conclusions may help us to come to the correct theoretical solution to the problem outlined above it may be worthwhile summarising them here.

Gerard Murphy (1961:21-5) argues that the immediate origin of stanzas like *Taghaim Tomás* lies in the syllabic metre called *dían midsheng* or *séadna mór* (8²7³8²7³). He posits that the ornamental system known as *breccad* was applied within this syllabic framework, resulting in a series of ornamentally-differentiated short phrases corresponding to the overall pattern 3A+B and coincidentally possessing a certain rhythmical regularity. The difficulty with this part of his argument is that the *breccad* system is nowhere attested as having been applied to *dían midsheng*.⁵ Murphy's argument, therefore, requires a certain predisposition on the part of the reader, and is based upon the presumption--established by Bergin in an influential article--that accentual metres must somehow be derived from syllabic ones as a result of certain liberties being grad-

ually allowed in the interpretation of the rules of ornament (Bergin 1937:280-6).

Murphy, to give him his due, does not seem irrevocably committed to the notion that accentual metres have their ultimate origin in the syllabic ones, for he also postulates that *dían midsheng* itself originated in a Latin syllabic-accentual metre which he calls trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and of which examples are to be found dating back to pre-Christian times. Syllabically the pattern corresponds to the *dían midsheng* arrangement, and it was taken up at an early date by the Irish poet Secundinus ('Sechnall') in a hymn to St Patrick:⁶

(1) Audite, omnes amantes
Deum, sancta merita
virí in Christo beati,
Patrici episcopi.

It is unclear whether one is meant to pronounce this verse in strict rhythm, as it were to the tune of *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*; or whether, on the other hand, natural word-stress would have been employed --as we are told it would have been in Irish syllabic verse--thus giving something like

Audite, ómnes amántes
Déum, sáncta mérita
víri in Chrísto beáti,
Pátrici epíscopi.

Murphy quotes a later Irish example of the trochaic tetrameter catalectic from the poet Cú Cuimne (c. A.D. 700), which shows more sophistication in the matter of ornament, and (incidentally?) greater regularity of rhythm:⁷

(m) Cantémus in ómni díe,
cóncinéntes várie,
cónclamántes Déo dígnum
ýmnum Sánctae Máriae.

In connexion with this example Murphy also reports the interesting fact that, in some stanzas, the third 'line' contains two rhyming words (this feature replacing the *aicill* rhyme between 'lines' 3 and 4), thus *opportunam dedit curam* (l. 11), *quod conceptum et susceptum* (l. 15), *pro qua sani Christiani* (l. 35), *ut fruamur et scribamur* (l. 51). This phenomenon we may like to consider as being parallel to latter-day

phrasal reduplication in the non-final phrases of certain six-, seven- and eight-stress line-types.⁶

More recently, Pádraig Breatnach (1983:66-8) has also focussed attention on the trochaic tetrameter catalectic line, or *septenarius*, in his own argument regarding the origin of the seven-stress line with proparaxatonic final, (i.e. what we shall be calling the 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* line-type). It is his contention that Murphy's syllabic stage (i.e. that exemplified by *dían midsheng*) may be dispensed with, and the immediate origins of 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* sought in the *septenarius* itself. He specifically draws comparison between the Latin type (as in Cú Cuimne's hymn cited above) and the following lines from a poem by Flann mac Eoghain Mhic Craith, composed c. 1590, originally quoted by Bergin (1937:280-1):

(n) Atá ar an mbainríoghain tséimhghil seabhcaidhe
mhaordha mhallchaoín mhórtasaigh,
muarfholt muirearach dualach druimneach
cuachach cruipineach comhdhlagthach.

This type of line, he says, embodies a rhythm identical to that of the *septenarius* line; and the derivation of the Irish type from the Latin he postulates on the basis that both forms are associated with demonstrably rhythmical musical performance.

The question of the musical context of verse is unquestionably an important one, and one to which we shall be returning in our final chapter. It is essential, however, that musical evidence be weighed as carefully and as precisely as possible, and that we are not tempted by its very presence into glossing over metrical difficulties which should otherwise be quite clear. For while the above couplet by Flann mac Eoghain Mhic Craith may indeed be rhythmically similar to the *septenarius*--assuming one chooses to read the latter in the strictly rhythmical fashion in every case--it is manifestly not structurally identical to it. The *septenarius* line is divisible into two halves, the first half containing four stresses and the second half three (there is no evidence for any phrase-boundary within the first half of the line). In this it bears some resemblance--trisyllabic cadence notwithstanding--to that other type of seven-stress line which we examined above (ex. f), a type which embodies an ornamental scheme quite distinct from the 3A+B *ocht-*

fhoclach pattern, and in which the cadential foot is set apart neither rhythmically nor ornamentally from what has gone before. The lines we have just quoted, on the other hand, are structurally identical to *Taghaim Tomás* (ex. k):

A/tá ar an /mbainríoghain
 /tséimhghil /seabhcaidhe
 /mhaordha /mhallchaoín
 /mhórtasaigh,
 /muarfholt /muirearach
 /dualach /druimneach
 /cuachach /cruipineach
 /comhdhlaghthach.

In this example--as in *Taghaim Tomás*--the rhythmical break before the final foot is obliterated, while the use of alliteration as a linking device effectively joins the cadential trisyllable to the previous phrase. At the same time, however, we must view this penultimate phrase as a distinct entity; for whatever one may say about the linking function performed by the alliteration, it is equally true that the final trisyllabic foot stands in ornamental contrast to the previous three self-contained two-stress phrases.

Breatnach is not alone in his attempt to tie the origins of 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* to a musical model. Seán Ó Tuama makes a similar--and unfortunately just as impressionistic--suggestion when he says of the first line of *Taghaim Tomás*:

Is léir gur leathrann den mheadarach *Séadna Mór* (8^2+7^2) atá anseo agus é briste suas go rialta faoin aiceann ceoil.... (1960:315).

Unhappily he never elaborates what he precisely means by 'aiceann ceoil', nor does he explain the mechanism by which this 'aiceann' may atomise a text in the way he is suggesting. He does, however, reckon that the rhythmical character of such verse is more indicative of its structure than is its syllabic regularity. For this reason, and taking into account the fact that such metres seem to have been somewhat despised, even by their practitioners, as '*streangcáin ceoltóirí sráide*', he finally concludes that this metrical form ultimately derives from an international metrical and musical model; in this he would appear to be giving tacit support to the idea, originated by Bergin in the article mentioned earlier, that

accentual versification must, *ipso facto*, represent an innovation in the Irish context, native verse-models being syllabic.

This international model, he asserts, is therefore ultimately responsible for the regular phrasing and the internal assonating vowels in even the most syllabically-regular verse, like *Taghaim Tomás* (315-6). He invites us to compare the first section of *Taghaim Tomás* with the following, from a medieval Latin hymn:²⁹

- (o) Christum *ducem*, qui per *crucem*
Redemit nos ab *hostibus*,
Laudet *laetus* noster *coetus*
Exultet *coelum* laudibus.

This stanza does bear a certain structural resemblance both to the likes of *Taghaim Tomás* and to the Latin *septenarius*, provided we are willing to forgive the extra syllable at the beginning of lines bd in the above. Unfortunately, however, it is still not clear that we are meant to take the final trisyllabic element of the lines as a contrasting element in a phrasal linear structure; for while *hostibus* and *laudibus* may be said to rhyme, after a fashion, and lines ac to be composed of two two-stress phrases marked by rhyme, his argument that we should interpret *coelum* (line d) as rhyming with *laetus/coetus* is unconvincing in the absence of corroborating evidence either in line b or anywhere in the following stanza, which Greene gives as follows (1977:xciv):

- (p) Poena fortis tuae mortis
et sanguinis effusio
corda terant, ut te quaerant,
Jesu nostra redemptio.

Thus if we wish to analyse the structure of the above seven-stress lines in terms of a phrasal theory, we shall have to opt for a 2+2+3 pattern, rather than 2+2+2+1.

Thus we are no further forward in our search for an answer to the question posed at the beginning of this section, namely, how we are to account for the development of the 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* line in its present form, and how we are to square the existence of such a line-type with a phrasal theory which requires a phrase to contain at least two stressed syllables. It is important, as I have suggested on a number of occasions

already, to consider the accentual and ornamental features of Irish verse as two separate systematic entities, if we are to be able to judge the contribution made by each to defining the ultimate character of that verse. This is true not only in synchronic terms but also in the context of diachronic discussions such as the present one. The historical origins of 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* may be easier to unravel if we consider the problem in two parts, i.e. first, the derivation of the seven-stress accentual pattern, and second, the accretion to that pattern of the 3A+B ornamental formula.

The stanza *Glinnset coicthe* appears to consist of two metrical units each of which contains three two-stress phrases followed by a single-stress trisyllabic cadence:

/Glinnset /coicthe	Phrase 1
/codda /ler	Phrase 2
/lergga /iath	Phrase 3
/nĒremōin	Cadence
/iar /loingis	Phrase 1
/Lōchet /fiann	Phrase 2
/flaithi /Gōedel	Phrase 3
/gabsus.	Cadence

However, as Carney himself acknowledges, most of the other stanzas that he quotes from the Leinster Genealogies are susceptible of another interpretation (1971:61). Examination of these stanzas--seven in all--reveals that Phrase 1 (as he represents it) may contain from two to five syllables (normally three or four); Phrase 2 is nearly always trisyllabic, in eleven cases consisting of a single trisyllabic word (accepting for the moment Carney's argument about the role of epenthesis); and Phrase 3 varies in length between two and four syllables (56-7). The most suggestive aspect of this analysis would seem to be that Phrase 2 is not as freely variable in length as are Phrases 1 and 3, and that in most cases this phrase contains only one stressed syllable (cf. *dīlechta*, *Feidlimid*, *cathrōe*, *Fortamuil*, *dermait*, *Temra*, *cōemfata*, *nathchobbur*, *Fomaire*, *Alinne*, *tuathmar*)--a fact which, if true, would tend to indicate that this 'phrase' was not a phrase at all but rather served some sort of cadential function. We are thus required, as Carney recognises, to reexamine the structure of the line itself; and this reexamination leads us back to the line-type assumed by Watkins in his earlier discussion, as exemplified in

a stanza like another of those cited by Carney from the Leinster poems (57 and 61)

- (q) *Fācaib domun dīlechta*
dūr sab slōig Carmuin,
selaig Fortrēn Feidlimid
forçgla err aṅbuid.

Here we have lines which, in syllabic terms, are nearly regular: the total length of the line is either six or seven syllables, and the final element is a trisyllable. More important, however, each line contains three stresses--a circumstance which imparts to the lines a far greater sense of uniformity than does their adherence to any syllabic principle. It may be noted in this connexion that of the other stanzas quoted by Carney from the Leinster genealogies a number are syllabically less regular than *Fācaib domun dīlechta*; all, however, may be interpreted in the same terms rhythmically. This fact would seem to confirm the priority of stress-counting, rather than syllable-counting, as a determinant of line-length in such verse.

What, then, are we to make of such stanzas as *Glinnset coicthe*? Are we to assume that Carney's analysis was incorrect, and that such stanzas should be interpreted along the same lines as *Fācaib domun dīlechta*--an interpretation which would require us either to assume that the third syllable of Phrase 2 is de-stressed, or to allow an extra stress to occur in that position? My own view is that Carney was quite correct in distinguishing between stanzas like *Glinnset coicthe* and others like *Fācaib domun dīlechta*; that, furthermore, the former type represents a development of the latter in rhythmical terms; and, finally, that we may see in this development a clue to the evolution of the accentual pattern which we are ultimately to identify with the 7.3 *ochthfoclach* line-type, as exemplified in *In t-én bec*.

In our brief discussion of *Nach tuirseach mo thuras an tráth so* (ex. b) we saw that silent stress acts as the principal caesura-marker between the two three-stress phrases in the line--silent stress being a phenomenon which invariably marks the end of any phrase or line containing an odd number of stresses. We have no reason to assume that this was not similarly the case in the O. Ir. period; thus in a stanza like

Fācaib domun dīlechta each of the three-stress elements would be followed by a silent stress. It is vital to remember that this silent stress is no less essential to the line or phrase than is an audible stressed syllable, for all that it is silent: it is felt physiologically as a stress, and its importance can be well demonstrated if one tries to leave it out.

If we may assume that the four lines of *Fācaib domun dīlechta* are to be thought of not so much as four independent entities but rather as paired together to give couplets or half-stanzas, then we may define each couplet as consisting of two three-stress lines; alternatively we may--thinking forward to the modern period--consider each half-stanza to consist of a single long metrical unit composed of two three-stress phrases. Whichever view one takes one must acknowledge the presence of the silent stress at the mid-point of this long metrical unit; and because silent stresses are just as important as articulated ones in determining metrical length, we may say that each half-stanza, measured rhythmically, is seven stresses in length.¹⁰

To the extent that poets in the O. Ir. period were consciously or unconsciously thinking in terms of longer metrical structures (i.e. taking the half-stanza, rather than the line, as the basic syntactic unit in a quatrain form), the medial silent stress might--particularly in the absence of strong ornamental features linking the two phrases--have seemed disruptive. The obvious cure for this medial 'hiatus' would be simple enough and, indeed, may have happened unconsciously: the medial silent stress could be realised, not by silence, but by a stressed syllable. The result would be something very like the type of stanza exemplified by *Glinnset coicthe*:

/Glinnset /coicthe /codda /ler :
 /lergga /iath /nĒremōin / λ
 /iar /loingis /Lōchet /fiann :
 /flaithi /Gōedel /gabsus. / λ

Here, then, we have a stanza consisting of two seven-stress metrical units. Each of these units has a clearly-defined mid-point (for although the silent stress is eliminated there is still a strong sense of caesura, due to the fourth foot being a monosyllable), and the cadence is enhanced by the presence of a silent stress, leaving one in no doubt about mid-

stanza and stanzaic boundaries. Internal boundaries are reinterpreted, that part of the seven-stress unit which occurs before the caesura being reckoned to contain two two-stress phrases, rather than a single phrase of three stresses.

If this account of the relationship between stanzas like *Fācaib domun dīlehta* and *Glinnset coicthe* seems fanciful, one need only consider what frequently happens to texts in *rócán* metre when they occur in a musical context. *Rócán* is the name usually given to a metre in which the line consists of two three-stress phrases, each phrase being followed by a silent stress; we may perhaps view *rócán* as a modern counterpart to the structure exemplified in a stanza like *Fācaib domun dīlehta*. A well-known text which employs *rócán* metre is the Déise song, *Cill Chais*:

- (r) Cad a /dhéanfaimid /feasta gan /adhmad?/ λ
 Tá /deireadh na /gcoillte ar /lár, / λ
 Níl /trácht ar Chill /Chais ná a /teaghlach, / λ
 'S ní / cluinfar a /cling go /bráth. / λ
 An /áit úd ina /gcomhnuigheadh an /deigh-bhean /λ
 Fuair /gradam a's /meidhir thar /mhnáibh, / λ
 Bhíodh /iarlaí a' /tarraing thar /tuinn ann, / λ
 'S an /t-Aifreann /doimhinn dá /rádh. /λ (FF:85)

~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : / λ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / λ

We remarked earlier that music and verse--while both constitute exercises in the rhythmical organisation of time--are composed according to different sets of rules. An illustration of this principle is the fact that, while it is the rule that verse-phrases in Irish are normally composed in two- and three-foot lengths, musical 'periods' (which we may take as the musical equivalent of phrases) are rarely composed in lengths shorter than four-beat units, by which we mean a unit containing four strong beats and two or three times that number of weak beats. Two-stress phrases are easy enough to fit into such a musical context, two phrases normally being accommodated to a single period; but in the case of a three-stress phrase a difficulty may arise, in that the period will contain an extra strong beat for which no stressed syllable of text is available. What commonly occurs is that a metrically-unstressed syllable of text is, in the context of the tune, artificially stressed. The musical setting of *Cill Chais* provides a clear illustration of this principle in practice. In the context of its air, the line contains not six stressed

syllables, but seven; the oblique lines employed in the stanza quoted below reflect how the stresses would fall in sung performance, as opposed to the actual metrical structure of the text (ó hEidhin 1975:25):

- (s) Cad a /dhéanfaimid /feasta gan /adh/mad?
 tá /deireadh na /gcoillte ar /lár; / λ
 Níl /trácht ar Chill /Chais ná a /teagh/lach,
 's ní /chluinfear a /cling go /brách. / λ
 An /áit úd 'na /gcónaíodh an /dea-/bhean,
 fuair /gradam is /meidhir thar /mná, / λ
 Bhíodh /iarlaí a' /tarraingt thar /toinn /ann,
 's an /tAifreann /binn á /rá. / λ

It is perhaps remarkable, in the circumstances, that the text of *Cill Chais* retains its own structural identity independent of that of the tune associated with it. It could be, of course, that this association is of recent origin, and that the text was originally associated with a different air, one that would not require the artificial stressing we have noted in the underlined syllables above. This would, however, seem unlikely in light of the fact that practically no airs containing three-bar periods are to be found in the Irish song repertoire.''

Because Irish song-texts are practically never heard other than as songs, i.e. outside the musical context, it is easy to imagine how the shape of a tune could, in time, come to obscure that of the text in certain cases. The poet composing a new text on the model of such a song may be inclined--consciously or unconsciously--to fill the 'extra' beat available in a given period of the air with a syllable to which stress would normally be attached as of right, thus creating, for instance, a seven-stress line in place of one containing six stresses. As regards the O. Ir. material, Pádraig Breatnach's argument about the influence of the Latin *septenarius* and its musical context may eventually fit into the picture here. If he is correct in assuming that the *septenarius* measure was widely known in Ireland from an early date, it could well be possible for that measure analogously to have influenced the transformation of what was originally a six-stress measure, composed of two three-stress phrases, into a seven-stress linear unit composed of a four-stress element (itself containing two two-stress phrases, in conformity with Irish practice) followed by one of three stresses.

The *septenarius* measure may well also have wielded some influence in the ornamental sphere, although I believe such influence would not have been of a primary nature but rather supportive of other factors working in the same direction. We have already mentioned those examples, quoted by both Murphy and Ó Tuama, in which the first half (four feet) of the *septenarius* line is broken up into two rhyming two-stress phrases, e.g. /*oppar/tunam* /*dedit /curam* (Murphy 1961:22), *Christum ducem, qui per crucem* (Ó Tuama 1960:313). It seems to me, however, that the influence of such lines would not alone have been great enough to have given rise to the development of the 3A+B ornamental pattern in the context of line-type 7.3.

The most obvious source for the 3A+B ornamental pattern is *ochtfhoclach* verse proper, the unambiguously 'eight-phrased' type; and I believe we must include here not only the syllabically-regularised forms of such verse, *ochthfoclach mór* and *ochtfhoclach bec*, but more particularly the parallel accentual forms which must have been practiced contemporaneously with, or even in advance of, the syllabic forms. If Carney is to be believed--and we acknowledge that there has been some question about dating in this context--the foundation for the 3A+B ornamental pattern had already been laid in the O. Ir. period in the context of accentual rather than syllabic verse. In stanzas such as the following not only is the final phrase of the first half-stanza assonantly linked to that of the second (thus embodying the 'B' element of the 3A+B formula), but the second and third phrases also suggest a tendency to experiment with internal assonance:¹²

(t) Tánic sam
 slán sóer
 díambi clóen
 caill chíar
 (lingid ag
 seng snéid)
 díambi réid
 rón rían.

This type of stanza has, it seems clear, already attained a fairly high degree of ornamental complexity, representing a significant development of the non-stanzaic type of composition, composed of assonantly undifferentiated two-stress phrases, which would eventually have given

rise to the type of verse we saw in the passage from *L. Brecc* quoted in the last chapter (§4.1.1, ex. c).

Although the accentual structure of line-type 7.3 may ultimately be traceable to a six-stress two-phrased type (exemplified by stanzas like *Fācaib domun dīlecta*), as I have suggested above, I think it may also be important from the ornamental point of view to consider the possible contribution of another type of verse. P. L. Henry quotes the following extract from a passage in *Bretha Nemed XIII* (39.10-40.2):¹³

- (u) Fochen aī,
 Ingen soīs,
 Siur chēlle,
 Miadach mōrdae,
 Moigthech mainbthech, (5)
 Moiges drucha
 Dlūthaib cerda,
 Cerd coīm coir,
 Con·can bretha,
 Berid darba, (10)
 Mūchaid ainbis,
 In·fēt anba,
 In·sluinni cach rán,
 Cach recht, cach miad,
 Cach mes, cach saer, (15)
 Cach soiféthead, cach suidigud,
 Cach n-ord, cach n-ard,
 Cach n-āirim, cach n-airenach
 i Tig medrach Midchuarta.

This passage would appear to be composed of a series of eighteen two-stress lines followed by a single line containing three stresses, the final foot being trisyllabic.¹⁴ This type of structure finds its modern counterpart in examples like the following:

- (v) /Uair na /ngrást
 ar /uair ár /mbáis,
 ar /uair is /fearr
 a /leonú /Dé 's na /Maighdine. (APD:no. 320)

Or the following stanza in so-called 'strophic' metre by the seventeenth-century Scottish Gaelic poet, Mary MacLeod:¹⁵

- (w) Mo /bheud is mo /chràdh
 Mar a /dh'éirich /dà
 An fhear /ghleusta /ghràidh
 Bha /treun 'san /spàirn
 Is nach /faicear gu /bràth an /Ratharsaidh.

In examples like these we see the occurrence of a series of two-stress phrases followed by a three-stress phrase--precisely the sort of accentual structure we find in some types of seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*, with the difference that in the latter metres the number of two-stress phrases is regularised at two, whereas in non-*ochtfhoclach* metres no such regularisation has occurred. I would argue that stanzas like *Glinnset coicthe* represent an early stage in such a regularising process, their evolution having involved a reinterpretation of the phrasal structure of the linear unit (originally, if our interpretation of *Fācaib domun dīlecta* is correct, two three-stress phrases) so that the first half of the line is reckoned to consist of two phrases, rather than one. The notion of two short phrases followed by one of greater length would not have been an impossible one to poets familiar with *rosc* verse of the type I have just quoted.

Between the composition of *Glinnset coicthe* and that of *In t-én bec* this evolving accentual form must have become associated with the ornamental formula 3A+B: the fact that *In t-én bec* reflects the 3A+B pattern in its essentials would seem adequate testimony to this having occurred. This association may have been encouraged by the similarity of the 7.3 line-type to the type containing eight stresses (8.1, equivalent to *ochtfhoclach bec*): after all, both types of line begin with a series of two-stress phrases, and both might even contain the same number of syllables, differing only in the accentual character of the final phrase. And if the evidence of *Táinic sam* is to be believed, the 3A+B ornamental pattern had already attached itself to accentual verse of the eight-stress type. It would seem, then, a simple enough matter that the same ornamental formula should in time attach itself to the similar seven-stress line-type.

Pressure to this end may, in fact, have been applied from another direction as well. Gerard Murphy has pointed out that *breccad*, seemingly not attested for *dían midsheng*, is specifically found in conjunction with the syllabic form *dechnad mór* ($8^26^28^26^2$), with results strongly reminiscent of the common seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* line-type in which the cadence is disyllabic. Here is the stanza which Murphy quotes illustrating *breccad dechnaide móire*:¹⁵

- (x) úa Bricc Bregain ónd Licc lebair
 tic i Temair toraib,
 mair dar Mumain, daig ná dubaig,
 traig dar Tulaig Tomair.

Carney cites another example, syllabically just as regular (although different from the *dechnad mór* pattern), ornamentally slightly less perfect. He points out that this stanza, being preserved only in a metrical tract, cannot be demonstrated to be archaic--although it just might have been 'abstracted from a genuinely archaic nature poem' (1971:65):

- (y) Fégaid úaib
 sair fo thúaid
 i muir múad
 mílach;
 adba rón
 rebach, rán
 ro-gab lán
 línad.

Both of these stanzas clearly embody the essentials of the 3A+B ornamental pattern, whatever relationship that pattern may or may not have had with the syllabic ornament *breccad*. In Murphy's example *toraib/Tomair* are obviously meant to rhyme, each being preceded by a series of three different rhyming words (*Bregain/lebair/Temair* in the first half-stanza, *Mumain/dubaig/Tulaig* in the second) marking the ends of phrase-lengths--if we may speak of phrase-lengths in the context of syllabic verse. In Carney's example the main systematic rhyme *mílach/línad* links the two halves of the stanza; and although the pre-cadential use of assonance is less systematic in the second half of the stanza than it is in the first, the use of alliteration (*rón/rán*) compensates for the fact that different vowels occur in these two words. Most important of all, however, both of the above examples contain seven stresses in each half-stanza, in which respect they are identical to line-type 7.3. We may, then, perhaps be allowed to suppose that the adoption of 3A+B as an ornamental scheme for line-type 7.2 could have led to its becoming acceptable in the context of type 7.3 as well.¹⁷

It would seem, then, that the evolution of the seven-stress accentual entity preceded the association of that entity with the 3A+B ornamental formula, the latter having evolved in the context of--and being clearly suited to--an accentual structure consisting of four phrases. Because the

3A+B pattern inherently implies a four-part structure its association with the seven-stress line (which in accordance with normal practice would contain only three phrases) required a certain structural reinterpretation of that line which would allow the final three-stress phrase to encompass both the third reduplicative element 'A' and the final contrastive one 'B'. The modification which was made entailed the marked rhythmical separation of the final foot from the one preceding, usually accomplished by allowing no unstressed syllables to occur between the final two stresses in the line--as occurs in *In t-én bec*, in *Fégaid uaib*, and in *ó Bruadair's* poem *A bhéith na lúb* which we quoted at the beginning of this discussion. This effectively transformed the first two feet of the original three-stress phrase into a shorter, two-stress phrase, isolating the final foot which then began to function as a 'phrase' in its own right. In terms of our phrasal theory the existence of a one-stress phrase may seem, on the face of it, to be anomalous; but as I suggested earlier the practical difficulties presented to the poet and his audience by it were negligible, given that it invariably occurs in a context in which it must be followed by a silent stress.

In what follows, and in Appendix A, seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* lines which embody a clearly-indicated caesura before the final foot will be classed as containing four phrases. It should be realised, however, that a great many examples of seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* contain no such caesura, but rather simply allow the ornamental system to do the work of demarcation. This is in fact the case with both *Taghaim Tomás* and *Atá ar an mbainríoghain*--in contrast with examples like *A bhéith na lúb*--and lines like these will be classed on accentual rather than ornamental grounds as containing three phrases, not four. In the elimination of the caesura the phrasal instinct has, in spite of pressure from a borrowed ornamental scheme, reasserted itself; and it is no doubt significant that lines of the latter type constitute a not insignificant portion of all seven-stress lines in the sample.

1. See our discussion of 'grouped' or 'secondary' rhythm, §3.1.1 above.
2. One may reasonably ask why five-stress lines should always require the three-stress phrase to follow the two-stress one, rather than precede it. The answer is presumably that, were the three-stress phrase to occur first in the line, it would require to be followed by a silent stress, and such a 'gapped' five-stress line is not attested in the repertoire. The sample does, however, contain examples in which a three-stress phrase is followed by *two* two-stress units, giving a 'gapped' seven-stress line; see discussion of line-type 7.1(n) in Chapter 9 below.
3. This principle may be regarded as similar in its workings--at least in the ornamental context--to the principle of *breccad* which Gerard Murphy describes as 'the multiplying of rime by dividing a stanza into small sections which rime either wholly or partially with one another....' (1961:23). On the subject of *breccad* see T. S. ó Máille, *Breacadh* (1973) Ch. 12 and *passim*, and C. Mhág Craith 1967:193-5; also n. 5 below.
4. Cited in Carney 1971:56. Carney's view is that *gabsus* (like *nĒremōin*) is functionally trisyllabic and, what is more, that both *gabsus* and *nĒremōin* are to be interpreted as carrying two stresses ($\acute{\text{ }} - \grave{\text{ }}$) rather than one ($\acute{\text{ }} - -$) (61-2). This explanation not only makes it possible for him to consider the likes of *gabsus* and *nĒremōin* as 'phrases' (i.e. they contain two stresses), but also allows him to consider them as structurally similar to line-endings in which a stressed disyllabic word is followed by a stressed monosyllable, as in some of Watkins' examples (e.g. *comad cach a / choimded cēim* [1963:225], *ní díisceoil / duē Néill* [228]). Unfortunately Carney's argument is made less convincing by the fact that many of his 'trisyllables' are trisyllabic only by virtue of an assumed epenthetic syllable the existence of which, on the evidence of the later language, is not always easy to credit.

Carney's difficulty here may be similar to that encountered by Watkins, only in reverse: whereas Watkins perhaps unconsciously allowed *stress* to distinguish the boundary of the 'final' while simultaneously maintaining the priority of the *syllable*-counting principle, so here Carney--whose main argument is that the metres he is discussing are *accentual*--is bending over backward to expound a unified *syllabic* theory for the line-ending. If early Irish verse is primarily *accentual*--and I would argue that this is likely to have been the case, notwithstanding the presence of numerous syllabically regularised examples--then the important feature uniting *nĒremōin* and *gabsus* is that they are both initially-stressed; and one need not invent another syllable for *gabsus* to ensure its seeming enough like *nĒremōin* to occupy a parallel position in the verse-structure. Indeed, we saw a modern example above (ex. g) in which the cadential foot of the last line contained three syllables (*leacacha*), in contrast with those of the preceding three lines, all of which ended in a disyllable. Admittedly this is uncommon in modern Irish; but it may be worth asking whether or not earlier practice could not have been more flexible, allowing the 'final' to contain either two or

- three syllables, the final stress thus falling on either penult or antepenult.
5. Murphy, in fact, maintains that outside of the bardic tracts 'no strict syllabic verse composed according to the *breccad* system has been preserved' (1961:23). But as Dr Cuthbert Mhág Craith has pointed out (1967:193) this conclusion needs reassessing in light of a Middle Irish poem subsequently published by Prof. ó Cuív (*Éigse* 10:305-8) which 'is characterised by the consistent use of *breacadh* in every *leathrann*'. Nor is a definition of *breccad*, for any period, in any way a straightforward matter: in his rather bewildering book on the subject Prof. T. S. ó Máille distinguishes six different varieties of *breacadh* as attested in the metrical tracts, whilst at the same time he avoids giving an overall definition of the term--if, indeed, it was precisely defined even in the minds of the poets themselves. Prof. ó Fiannachta, in a review of ó Máille's book (*Celtica* 2:204), raises an important question: 'go ndéanfar staidéar diachrónach ar *bhreacadh* ó thús ní féidir a bheith cinnte nach ag bualadh seanscéim téarmaíochta ar nua-ábhar a bhíonn na tráchtas. Is léir ón bplé anseo...ar an ornáid seo sa Mheán Ghaeilge gur athraigh agus gur fhorbair an córas go mór.' Certainly one can see correspondences between some types of *breccad*, as evidenced in these tracts, and certain kinds of reduplicative ornament in accental verse. One should not, however, necessarily assume because of this that such ornament originated in the syllabic context.
 6. Murphy 1961:22; quoted by him from *Liber Hymnorum* (ed. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson), i. 7.
 7. Murphy 1961:22. This example is also cited by Pádraig A. Breatnach (1983:67) whose reading of it is rhythmically regularised.
 8. Calvert Watkins (1963:247-8) disagrees with Murphy about the degree of influence exerted by Latin metres on the evolution of *dían midsheng*, *sétnad mór* and other syllabic forms: 'That it is the trochaic tetrameter catalectic which is the ultimate source of these metres, as well as of the heptasyllabic *deibide* and *rannaigeacht* metres, seems to me less likely than the assumption that the Latin hymnic and secular poetry exercised an external influence on the direction of the internal transformation and development of the native verse-form by Irish poets outside the traditional schools and outside the traditional Irish social context of poetry.... For the metrical shape of the verse lines of this new poetry, the "new *littérateurs*" remained remarkably faithful to the older native forms.' This question of the origins of the classical metres is one which has been hotly debated for many years, but it is not one that we shall have the leisure to pursue here.
 9. ó Tuama 1960:313 and note; also Greene 1977:xciv.
 10. Or more correctly, eight stresses, counting the silent stress which follows the seven-stress metrical unit, and which marks the boundary between it and the next such unit.
 11. But see Fermanagh singer Paddy Tunney's air to 'Lough Erne Shore' in S. ó Baoighill 1976:68. I know of no song in Irish which uses this tune, however.

12. Carney 1971:43. In other stanzas of the same poem assonantal experimentation involves the first phrase as well.
13. 1976:143-4. Henry has lines 14-16 arranged slightly differently, the first foot of l. 14 being attached to l. 13, and the second foot of l. 16 constituting a line on its own.
14. It may be observed that l. 8 contains three fully-stressable words. In my view the second of these would be destressed in accordance with the principles outlined in Chapter 3 above.
15. Watson 1965:26.
16. 1961:30, quoting from *Mittelirische Verslehren* iii.32.
17. The lack of any demonstrably early evidence for line-type 7.2, as Carney points out, makes it impossible to trace the origin of this line-type back as far back as we can trace type 7.3. The overwhelming popularity of type 7.2 in the later repertoire, however, would suggest that its history goes back quite a distance, and thus makes it at least plausible that its development might have influenced that of type 7.3 in the way I have suggested.

6 : TAXONOMY :

FOUR-STRESS LINE-TYPES

6.0 In the preceding two chapters we have attempted to deal with the smallest linear elements featured in Irish verse. In the case of those types of poetry composed in the so-called *rosc* metres we found these elements to constitute lines in and of themselves, while in the context of longer line-types we saw them functioning as phrases within more complex linear structures.

The remaining chapters of this taxonomical survey shall be devoted to summarising the principal types of longer line attested in our sample, and to cataloguing some of the most common and interesting accentual patterns associated with these line-types. It must be emphasised, however, that this catalogue does not pretend to be exhaustive: the number of possible patterns rises in proportion to the length of the line and--even in the case of lines containing only four feet--the range of possibilities is vast. Criteria for this overview include popularity and individuality; more detailed study of particular line-types and of the patterns associated with them would supply material for another thesis, especially if one were to take into account such questions as, for example, possible geographical preferences for certain patterns, or the correlation of particular patterns with particular poetic themes. These and other avenues of further enquiry are briefly indicated at appropriate points in what follows, though considerations of space do not permit them to be pursued in detail.

The accentual patterns summarised here are those which appear to be the most basic of the four-stress patterns attested in the sample. Principal criterion in making this judgement has been the systematic use of a given pattern over an entire stanza, with little or no variation in the number of unstressed syllables from line to line. The formula which follows each of the examples represents a generalisation of the pattern, i.e. an expression of what the basic structure of the pattern may be perceived to be in the majority of the lines; the formula may not, however, reflect the actual accentual conformation of every single line in the stanza quoted, any more than the generalised pattern of iambic pen-

tameter reflects the reality of every line in a Shakespearean sonnet. In many cases the same generalised pattern is attested for lines ending in more than one type of cadence; where this occurs, examples of all line-types attested for a particular pattern are grouped together, and the pattern is thereafter referred to by a single reference code: thus the designations 4.1(a), 4.2(a) and 4.3(a) all refer to the same accentual pattern, which happens to be attested for all three four-stress line-types. Further examples of a given pattern are indicated in the Notes, although it must be stated that no attempt has been made to cite all examples of a given pattern which may be found in the sample, except in the case of rarer patterns. Finally, it should be mentioned that while ornamental features are summarised here, and in subsequent chapters, as they relate to particular line-types, thorough discussion of principles governing the ornamentation of Irish verse is the subject of Chapter 12.

A line of four stresses may be characterised by either triple or duple rhythm, and may end in a cadence of one, two or three syllables. The line is composed of two two-stress phrases, the phrase boundary being normally indicated by a caesura, or by an ornamental feature, or by a combination of the two. Where a caesura is present it is shown in the formulaic summary by means of a colon. The absence of such a colon does not, however, imply the absence of a phrase-boundary in the middle of the line: as we determined in the preceding chapter (§5.2), phrase-boundaries need not be marked by caesuras in every case, but may be indicated by the presence of mid-line *aicill* rhyme or some other ornamental feature.

Ornamentation of the four-stress line is, on the whole, straightforward. Assonantal ornamentation of the cadential stress is compulsory, and the mid-line phrase-boundary is also normally ornamented, most often with *aicill* rhyme. The first stressed syllable in the line is less frequently ornamented, presumably because it neither demarcates a phrase-boundary nor serves any phrase- or line-cadential function. The most common ornamental formulae associated with the four-stress line-types are /AB:BR/ (employing *aicill* rhyme to mark the internal phrase-boundary) and /AA:BR/ (demonstrating, in its simplest form, the principle of reduplication and contrast discussed in the preceding chapter). In many cases, particularly in more popular verse, the realisation of these formulae is incomplete, giving /-B:BR/, /-B:-R/, /-A:BR/ and even /---R/.

In the formulaic representation of an ornamental scheme the letters 'A', 'B', 'C' etc. are used to indicate assonating vowels which remain the same from line to line within a given stanza. The letters 'X', 'Y', and 'Z', on the other hand, indicate assonating vowels which operate within a single line or group of lines but which change unpredictably within the context of a stanzaic or paragraph form. 'R' stands for '(end-)Rhyme' and indicates the presence of an assonantal feature on the cadential stressed syllable. Occasionally a lower-case 'r' is used when double ornamentation occurs within the cadential foot, i.e. when an unstressed syllable, in addition to the cadential stress, is ornamented. Similarly, other lower-case letters may be used to indicate ornamentation of secondary-stressed or unstressed syllables in pre-cadential feet. Brackets surrounding any ornamental--or, for that matter, accentual--feature indicate that its appearance is not systematic within the stanza quoted, and a dash indicates that for a particular ictic position ornamentation is lacking altogether. A colon in the ornamental formula indicates a phrase-boundary; note that the use of the colon here differs from its use in the context of the accentual formula where it signifies the presence, in purely accentual terms, of a caesura.

Four-stress line-types commonly form themselves into couplet and quatrain structures; alternatively they are to be found in combination with other line-types forming complex stanzaic structures; and outside of two- and three-stress types they are the most common line-types to be found in non-stanzaic (paragraph form) compositions.

6.1 Four-stress patterns: triple rhythm

- (a) A very popular pattern characterised by rolling trisyllabic feet. Most examples are of types 4.1 and 4.2, although type 4.3 is also attested.

4.1 A /chailín bhig /uasail na /gruaige breághtha /buidhe
 a' /dtiocfá-sa /'nuas liom fá /dhídean mo /thighe
 /thógfá-sa aon /cheo dhíom a's an /brón tá ar mo /chroidhe
 mar /d'éireochaidh slám /lóchain den /choirce le /gaoith.'

(~) / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ /
 - Y: (Y) R

- 4.2 'Tá /clog ar mo /chroí istigh atá /líonta le /grá duit,
/lionndubh taobh /thíos de chomh /ciardubh le /háirne.'
'Má /bhaineann aon /ní duit is go /gcloífeadh an /bás tú,
/beadsa im shí /gaoithe romhat /thíos ar na /bánta.²

() / / / /
- B: B R

- 4.3 Is /buachaill gan /ghruaim mé ná'r /gráidh a bheith
/achranach
/gairim ní /bhfuair mé bheith /stuacach ná /caismirteach
gan /aon locht sa /tsaoghal le /léigheamh ná le /haithris,
ach go /dtug mé grádh /cléibh do'n /spéirbhean deagh-
aithintheach.³

() / / / /
X X: - R (line 1)
- Y: Y R (lines 2, 4)
X X: X R (line 3)

- (b) Another popular pattern attested for all three four-stress line-
types. In this the second and third feet are disyllabic, the
stressed syllable in each normally containing a long vowel or diph-
thong in order to maintain the feeling of triple rhythm established
in the first (trisyllabic) foot.

- 4.1 Má /d'imigh an /mhodhamhail bhí /trom 'na /ghá
's gur /deineadh an /fhoghail seo, /gabhaimse a /páirt;
an bhfuil /sionnach ar /shliabh, ná /iasc i /dtrá,
ná /fiolar le /fiach, ná /fia le /fán
chomh /fada gan /chiall le /bliain ná /lá
a /chaitheamh gan /bia 's a /bhfiach le /fáil?⁴

/ / / /
X Y: Y R

- 4.2 Do /ghealadh mo /chroí nuair /chínn Loch /Gréine,
an /talamh, 's an /tír, is /íor na /spéire;
/taitneamhach /aoibhinn /suíomh na /sléibhte
ag /bagairt a /gcinn thar /dhroim a /chéile.⁵

() / / / /
A B: B R

- 4.3 /Easmail a's /ár gach /lá go /dúbalta
/galar a's /smál id /lár gan /dúil i sult,
nár /mhairir um /Cháisc, an /tráth is /dlúth go bhfuil
mo /stocaí id /mhála i /n-áit tuis/tiúin agat.⁶

() / / / /
A B: B R r

- (c) In this pattern the first two feet are trisyllabic, and the third disyllabic. Line-types 4.1 and 4.2 are attested for this pattern, but while the former seems to be very popular the latter is present in only one example.

4.1 Ar /aonach má /théid sin aon /uair de /ló
beidh /béabhar ar /bhaothlach i /mbuaic a /shrón'
ag /déanamh na /scléipe nár /dhualgas /dó,
a /chaolsporaibh /gléasta is a /bhuatais chrón.⁷

A A: B R

4.2 A /Mhíchíl do-/chí sinn ar /easpa an /anlainn
ar /fhíoraibh gan /im, saill, ná /bainne /gamhnach,
fá /dhaorchíos do /ghallbhuín-se a /chreach na /ceantair
mar /dhíolaíocht san /chuibhrinn sin /glac an /gandal!
(OT:170)

A a (A) (a): B R

- (d) This pattern is attested for all three four-stress line-types, but it is most commonly found in the context of type 4.2. In it all of the pre-cadential feet are disyllabic, and the stressed syllables normally contain a long vowel or diphthong.

4.1 Ba /gnáth mé ag /siúl le /ciumhais na /habhann
ar /bhainseach /úr 's an /drúcht go /trom,...⁸

- B: B R

4.2 Do /chuala /scéal do /chéas gach /ló mé
is do /chuir san /oíche i /ndaoirse /bhróin mé,
do /lag mo /chreat gan /neart mná /seolta,
gan /bhrí gan /mheabhair gan /ghreann gan /fhónamh.
/Adhbhar /maoithe /scaoileadh an /sceoil sin,...⁹

- Y: Y R

4.3 Do /chuala in/né ag /maothlach /muinteardha
mar /nuadhacht /scéil ó /chéile /Chuinn is Chuir
gur /duairc le /cléir an /Ghaeilge /ghrinnshtlitheach
/suairceas /séimh na /saorfhear /sinseardha.¹⁰

A B: B R r

- (e) A rarer pattern (at least in the context of the present sample), attested for line-types 4.2 and 4.3. The first and third feet are trisyllabic, while the second is disyllabic and embodies a clear feeling of caesura.

4.2 A /fhile chirt /ghéir do /léigheas na sean-/ughdair
 Is /tapa do /réidheas gach /daor-cheist do/camhlach
 /Aithris-se /féin go /léir go bar/amhlach--
 An /fada bheidh /Gaedhil fá /ghéar-smacht all/mharach?
 (EOS:85)

() / / () () / / : () / / () () / / ()
 A B: B c R

4.3 Is /truagh gan mé /thiar ag /Eoghainín ó /Ragadáin
 /Seachtain nó /dhó go /gcóiríodh sé /m'fhallaing domh;
 /Mise gach /neoin a bheith /'seoladh a chuid /eallaigh dó
 Is /mé a bheith 'baint /chnó faoi /theorainn an /bhaile
 seq.¹¹

() / / () () / / : () / / () () / / ()
 - (B): B R

- (f) A rare pattern attested in the works of Dáibhidh ó Bruadair and Pádraigín Haicéad--two poets who, it would seem, possessed an unusually keen ear for rhythmical subtlety. In this pattern the first foot is disyllabic, the second and third trisyllabic.

4.2 /Fionn an /chochallchúil /chostasamhail /chleachtaigh
 is /Goll na /dtorranbhrúcht--/folamhughadh /bealaigh,
 /Lughaidh do /choisc a dtnúth--/bochtanughadh /Breatan,
 's an /lonnrach/Oscar úd /d'fhostaigh pudhair a /athar;
 (DOB:40)

() / / () / / () () / / () () / / ()
 A B c d: B c d R

4.3 /'Airnéis /tSagsanach /ceangailte i /ndísbeagadh
 don /airdréim /chleachtar i /gcanamhain /Ghaoidhilge,
 a /sháirthréith /seargtha /sleaschaithmhe, /siorthuirseach
 a/táim féin /sealad, i /nglasaibh do /dhíograise.¹²

() / / () / / () () / / () () / / ()
 A b C: C R

- (g) Another rare pattern, used here in a poem attributed to Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig. The first and second feet are disyllabic, the third trisyllabic.

4.2 /Och! mo /chreachsa /faisean chláir /éibhir:
 /loca /cas ar /mhac gach mná /déarca,
 /cufa /geal 'ma /ghlaic is fáinne /aerach
 /mar gach /flaith d'fhuil /Chais dár ghnáth /éire.
 (ND 1:11)

/ / ~ / / ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~
 A B: B C R

- (h) This pattern is possibly the invention of Dáibhidh ó Bruadair, where it occurs in his poem *Guagán Gliog*--'A Jingling Trifle'. The first foot of each line consists of a long monosyllable, and this is followed by three cantering trisyllabic feet. The cumulative effect of the lines, especially if read quickly, is of a species of jig accompanied by a hand-bell:

4.3 /Lá /lughnasa /spiunaid lucht /saidhbhreasa
 /lán /lonnrach a /dtronnc is a /dtaidhbhrigte,
 /fás /cumhra na /húire nach /tadhlaimse,
 /d'fhág /cúilfhionna /Lonndan gan /maighdeanas. (DOB:70)

/ / / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~
 A B: B R

- (i) The unusual feature of the following pattern is the penultimate monosyllabic foot; the first two feet in the line appear to be conceptually trisyllabic, although in practice one or the other may be disyllabic.

4.1 A /carn-fholt /trínseach is /leabhair /d'fhás
 go /camarsach, /dlaoitheach, tiugh, /trom, /'tá;
 'na /m-beartaibh a /tígheacht fhria
 go /bachallach /buidhechas,
 ó /bhathas a /cinn go /mbonn /tráchd. (PPM:254)

~ / / (~) ~ / / (~) ~ / / / / (lines 1, 2, 5)
 A B: C R

6.2 Four-stress patterns: duple rhythm

- (j) The most popular of the duple patterns is, as one might expect, the one in which all pre-cadential feet are quadrisyllabic. Its popularity may to some extent have been influenced by the fact that texts employing this metre are easily adapted to ballad airs, i.e. to airs originally designed for texts in ballad metre. This pattern is

attested for all three four-stress line-types. A substantial number of the items employing this pattern is of Connacht origin.

- 4.1 Is a /Ruaidhrí, is mór an /sgéal nach raibh tú i /n-éifeacht
fad ó a/riamh
I /nEachdhruim, 'sé mo /léan, a raibh na /Gaedhil dá
ngearradh /siar
/Thóigfeá bratach /Éireann 'gus le /féidhm do chaithfeá /í
Is dá /gcuirtí coróin Ríogh /Séamas ort, cia /d'éileochadh
a baint /díot?'¹³

() / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / /
- B: B R

- 4.2 /Oidhche roimh Mhí /Shamhna aige /tarraingt mhóineadh 'n
/Tighearna,
Bhí /Nannsaí Gabha 's na /gasúir aige /creach na Caillighe
/Riabhaighe.'¹⁴

() / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~
- B: B R

- 4.3 An /cuimhin leat na /haontaighe is an /cuimhin leat na
/margaidh,
an /cuimhin leat an /oidhche úd bhí muid /thíos ag tigh Uí
/Cheallacháin,
do /dhá láimh 'mo /thimcheall 's in mo /chroidhe nach raibh
an /ghangaideacht,
ach go /gcuala mé 'dul idir /daoine go raibh /smaoineadh ar
bhean /eile agat.'¹⁵

~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~
- B: (B) R

- (k) The following pattern is found frequently in combination with pattern (j), but more rarely as the designated pattern for an entire poem. It differs from pattern (j) in that the second foot is trisyllabic and embodies a distinct feeling of caesura. In the following example we would suggest *is na* (rather than *'sna*) in l. 1, and *is* (rather than *'s*) in l. 4; l. 2 corresponds to pattern 4.1(j).

- 4.1 Tá an /ghealach ar an /aer 'sna /réalta uilig faoi /smúid
ó /d'imthigh bláth na /sgéimhe d'fhág na /céadta i ngarla /
/dubhach.
Níor /chualas ceileabhar /éan ann ná'n /chuach Lá Bealtaine
/úir',
's mara /dtigid tú 's / m'éileamh ach! /éagfaidh mé le
/cumhaigh.'¹⁶

~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / : ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / /
- B: (B) R

- 4.3 Nach /mór i gceist an /liamhán ag /iascairí na /Gaillimhe
 Ach is /fearr go mór an /faoitín ós /air a gheobhthá an
 /tairbhe
 /Faoitín tiúrail /á, agus /faoitín tiúrail /aidí-ó!''

() / / ~ ~ ~ / / : ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~
 - B: (B) R

In a variant of the 4.1 version of this pattern the caesura manifests itself as a silent stress occupying the position of secondary ictus:

- 4.1 /Déan mar 'dhéanfadh /máthair; do /Mhacsa, Briathar /Dé,
 go /gcloise sé ár /ngúine trí /fhocail do ghúí /féin.
 (APD: no. 473)

() / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ : ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / /
 - - - R

- (1) An uncommon pattern in which the penultimate foot is trisyllabic. It is attested for line-type 4.1 only.

- 4.1 Is /fada mé'r a /mwailli sho im /chónuí ar /sráid
 A /ràiduireacht 's a /meala ban 's ig /ól dí er /chlár;
 Nuer a /veasan mná an /wàilli sho mo /fócuí vè /lán,
 'S aul' a /vion a taingish /eadaruing, is /fóryr a/tá!
 (Free.: 269)

~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / /
 A A: B c R

- (m) A pattern very similar to (1), except that the penultimate foot is reduced to a disyllable. The second syllable of this foot would appear in this case to be equivalent to the fourth syllable of the quadrisyllabic foot, although conceivably if the syllable represented a lexical rather than a grammatical item, or if it contained a long vowel, it would more naturally occur in the position of secondary ictus.

- 4.1 A fhir /chalma san /teangain sin na /nGaedheal nach /fann
 tabhair /dearca suilt ar /mheamram, is /réidh do /pheann:
 /aithris damh gan /mearbhall nó /claon id' /rann,
 an /fada bheidheam in /anachrádh fá /réim na /nGall?''

() / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / /
 A A: B R

- (n) In this pattern only the first foot is quadrisyllabic, the second being trisyllabic and the third disyllabic. There is a clear feeling of caesura in the second foot. Like patterns (l) and (m), this pattern is attested for line-type 4.1 only and could possibly represent a variant of either or both of them. Note that in l. 4 the word *neart* would most naturally fall under the secondary stress, while in the preceding three lines the second syllable of the penultimate foot would be unstressed.

4.1 'Den /trácht athá ar an /fáidhí ar /Shliabh na /mBan
 Ná /triallann siad a/níar chughainn in /am tar /lear?
 Mar ba dhen /chliar iad na /fiarfadh--'bhí /dílis /ceart--
 A /stróicfeadh airm /Sheoirse le /faobhar neart /sleá.
 (DO:39)

$\cup / \cup \cup \cup / \cup$: $\cup \cup / \cup$ \cup / \cup
 X X: - R

- (o) Here we see again a pattern which we discussed briefly in connexion with our examination of duple rhythm in Chapter 3. In this both the second and third feet are trisyllabic, the stressed syllable in each being long in order to maintain the syllabic quantity-relationships necessary to the preservation of the duple rhythm.

4.2 /Mise an tOllamh /saoithiúil sin, /Pítear Mhac /Dhónaill,
 /teagaimh 'dul na /slí mé gos /íseal Dé /Domhnaigh,
 /láimh le séipéal /Chríosta, mar raibh /craosairí ag /ól
 ann,
 is /thug siad bumper /líonta gan /íneadh in mo /dhorn
 damh.¹³

$(\cup) / \cup \cup \cup / \cup$: $\cup \cup / \cup$ $\cup \cup / \cup$ \cup
 - B: B R

6.2.1 A word about 'ballad metre'

In the context of the duple four-stress line-types it is appropriate to raise the subject of 'ballad metre' in Irish, not least because--as we shall shortly see--various features of Irish versification have been attributed to its influence.

Ballad metre is the customary metre both of the classical 'Child' ballads and of the 'Come-all-ye's' or broadside ballads, neither of which is a type of composition native to the Irish. Both gained wide currency through the medium of printed 'broadsheets'--initially imported from England and Scotland, latterly produced in great quantities in Ireland itself--which circulated among the increasingly literate town-dwellers in Ireland from as early as the sixteenth century. The songs printed on these broadsheets were readily adopted into the oral tradition of country dwellers, and the ballad metre exemplified in so many of the broadsheet texts became a favourite medium among folk poets composing in English from the eighteenth century onwards. In light of this it would be remarkable indeed if the popularity of this metre, which continued over a period when more and more of the population acquiring a working knowledge of English, were not in one way or another reflected in Irish metrical practices.

In his examination of ballad metre G. R. Stewart remarks that, while one may describe ballad metre in its simplest form as a septenary line, this line is not (as it is often represented) simply a succession of seven evenly-stressed syllables, alternating with unstressed ones, and ending in a masculine rhyme, thus:

u / ' u / ' u / ' u / ' u / ' u / ' u / '

Rather, ballad metre contains both primarily- and secondarily-stressed syllables, the line thus consisting of four complex rhythmical units, or 'dipods':

u / ' u ~ u / ' u ~ u / ' u ~ u / '

His method for testing the reality of this dipodic structure

...is based upon the fact that in the long run the accented syllables of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs comprise the stronger stresses, while secondarily accented syllables, together with prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, are of distinctly weak stress. Accordingly, if our dipod is a reality, the first position (primary stress) should be filled by a much larger proportion of syllables of the first group than of the second, while the situation should be reversed for the third position (secondary stress) (1925:935-6).

To illustrate the validity of Stewart's analysis we may cite the following stanza from a typical broadside ballad of emigration, known variously as *Edward Connors* or *The Shamrock Shore*:

O come all you true-born Irishmen and listen to me a while,
 All you that want to emigrate and leave old Erin's isle,
 A kindly advice I will give you, which you must bear in mind,
 Of how you'll be forsaken if you leave your land behind.²⁰

The tune to which these lines are presently sung is a straightforward and unadorned one in waltz-time, leading the listener to an equally straightforward interpretation of the lines' own rhythm:

O come /all you /true-born /Irish /men and /listen to /me a
 /while, etc.

~ / / ~ / / ~ / / ~ / / ~ / / ~ / / ~ / /

Such an interpretation would tempt one to suspect that ballad metre's impact on Irish versification--assuming any such thing could be proven--would be most noticeable in the context of seven-stress verse. When, however, we seek evidence of such impact in that context we come away empty-handed: as we shall see in the chapter dealing with seven-stress verse below, the only seven-stress patterns employing a monosyllable at the cadence are types 7.1(a) and (m), both of which are only very thinly attested in our sample. Additionally, neither of these patterns particularly resembles the example above, because their systematic use of internal ornament reveals the implicit phrasal structure of the line in each case. Internal ornament is a feature totally lacking in ballad verse, which contents itself with end-rhyme alone.

If, however, we analyse the metre of the above stanza along the lines suggested by Stewart, we may find ourselves in a position better to assess the implications of ballad metre for our understanding of Irish versification. Interpreted as 'dipodic' verse, the above lines are revealed as containing, not seven primary stresses, but four primary and three secondary stresses:

O come /all you true-born /Irishmen and /listen to me a /while,
 All /you that want to /emigrate and /leave old Erin's /isle,
 A /kindly advice I /will give you, which /you must bear in /mind,
 Of /how you'll be for/saken if you /leave your land be/hind.

˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘

This analysis is undoubtedly more satisfactory as regards verse-structure than is the one which would count seven primary stresses in the line: syllables such as '-men', 'me', '-grate', 'be', 'if'--all of which received primary stress according to the seven-stress interpretation--are now seen as secondary-stressed syllables, according much more nearly with their actual status in speech, or requiring only limited artificiality to be rendered credible in the verse context.

A review of the duple four-stress patterns summarised in the preceding section reveals type 4.1(j), a very popular duple pattern whose rhythm corresponds to that of the broadside in every particular. The only difference between the stanza from *Ruaidhrí ó Catháin* which we quoted in illustration of pattern 4.1(j) and the stanza from *Edward Connors* given above is the presence in the former of assonantal ornament over the mid-line phrase-boundary. There is, however, plentiful evidence to suggest that such ornament is increasingly being regarded as, at best, optional. Consider the following stanza from a song recorded at the Oireachtas in 1974:

Agus /comhairle dhaoibhse a /chailíní má /thóigeann sibh uaim /é:
 Ná /ligidh bhur rún le /aon fhear óg, ná /creididh glór a /mbéal,
 Mar /geallfaidh siad sibh bhur /bpósadh le /comhrá milis /binn
 Agus /éalóidh siad thar /sáile uaibh ar nós /bhádóirín Thír an
 /Fhiadh.²¹

Internal ornament here is quite vestigial, being present in only the third and fourth lines (*pósadh:comhrá, sáile/bhádóirín*), and even there in a form less consistent than that displayed in the stanza from *Ruaidhrí ó Catháin*, where the phrase-boundary is ornamented throughout with a series of long /e:/ vowels. And the similarity between *Bádóirín Thír an Fhiadh* and the likes of *Edward Connors* is further manifested in the change of end-rhyme halfway through each of the stanzas quoted. Alteration of end-rhyme in this fashion, while not unattested, occurs only very rarely in traditional Irish verse structures.

In light of such similarities, what are we to think of the four-stress duple line-pattern 4.1(j)? Does this pattern owe its existence to ballad metre, or would it have developed in the Irish context irrespective

of the existence of ballad metre? In answer to the last question, I would suggest that the existence of analogous types within other metrical classifications shows that the taste for consecutive quadrisyllabic feet has become a pronounced one among poets of our period, and that therefore the development of a pattern like 4.1(j) was a near certainty in any case. It would, however, seem reasonable to suppose that the omnipresence of ballad metre in the English-language context must have contributed in some degree to the popularity of pattern 4.1(j) among Irish-language poets, if for no other reason than that, by using that pattern, they could avail of the large number of popular tunes associated with ballad metre. Significantly, however, pattern 4.1(j) retains in most examples that important ornamental evidence of the phrasal structure which defines it as a well-established Irish pattern, rather than as simply an English pattern adopted wholesale into the Irish context. Examples like *Bádóirín Thír and Fhiadh* which appear to suggest otherwise demonstrate, to my mind, nothing but the fact that, as Irish continues to lose ground at the expense of English, so the rules of traditional Irish versification are, in some cases, beginning to be less strictly adhered to. Corruption of the sort exemplified in that stanza can be seen in verse of all types, and need not be blamed wholly on the example of ballad metre.

6.3 A rhythmically variable four-stress pattern

One important and popular pattern--which we shall designate pattern (p)--may be interpreted as either duple or triple, depending upon whether long or short syllables occur under the stress in the disyllabic first and third feet. The most important feature of this pattern is not, however, its rhythmical character but rather the very marked mid-line caesura which results from the second foot's containing at least three syllables and frequently more than three. We saw an example of this type of pattern previously, in our discussion of caesura (§5.2, ex. [g]); here is another:

4.2 /Gheall tú /dhom, agus /rinn tú /bréag liom
 go /mbeadh tú /romham aige /ráil na /gcáoireach--
 /lig mé /fead agus /míle /glao ort,
 agus ní /bhfuair mé /ann ach na /huain ag /béicigh!²²

(v) / / v / / : v v / / v / / v
 - - - R

This stanza is, of course, one frequently associated with the poem *Dónall óg*, a text which also may be used to illustrate the 4.3 version of this pattern:

- 4.3 A /Dhónaill /óig, má /théir thar /farráige,
 /beir mé /féin leat is ná /déan do /dhearmad;
 is /beidh agat /féirín lá /aonaigh is /margaidh,
 is i/níon rí /Gréige mar /chéile /leapa agat.²³

(v) / ˘ / ˘ : / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ ˘
 (B): B R

The very noticeable rhythmic break which characterises these lines effectively renders the overall rhythmical character of the verse, whether duple or triple, of less importance. The essential phrasal structure of the line is emphasised at the expense of the linear continuity needed truly to establish a duple or a triple pattern.

This pattern is one of the principal ones traditionally identified with *caoineadh* metre; given the emphasis on its phrasal structure it is perhaps closer in character to the two-stress *rosc* metres associated with ritual *caointeoireacht* than are any of the other four-stress *caoineadh* patterns (i.e. types 4.2[a], [b] and [d]).

6.4 A taxonomical dilemma?

Before leaving the subject of four-stress verse-types we should do well to confront what may at first appear to be something of a difficulty in classificatory terms. It is one principally associated with the works of more sophisticated poets, particularly those who favour the use of double ornamentation, i.e. the assonantal ornamentation of more than one syllable in a given foot. Because such ornamentation is for the most part associated with stressed syllables, it can occasionally be difficult in such cases to know which syllable the poet means us to interpret as stressed; and the difficulty is compounded in the case of Munster poems, where forward stress may sometimes be a factor. Some examples will illustrate the problem:

- (i) Och! mo chreachsa faisean chláir éibhir:
 loca cas ar mhac gach mná déarca,
 cufa geal 'ma ghlaic is fáinne aerach
 mar gach flaith d'fhuil Chais dár ghnáth éire.²⁴
- (ii) Do charas tar aon an Deirdre dhea-ghnúiseach
 mhascalach mhaordha dhéidgheal ghlás-shúileach
 amharach aobhdha shaorghlan shearcshúgach
 charthanach chéillí bhéasach bhradrúnach.²⁵
- (iii) ó suairc labhartha is bearta gach buairghiúiste
 gan uaim gan aiste 'na theangain ná suanúchas,
 mo thrua ar chreanas le ceannaraic cruaphrionta
 ó bhuaic mo bheatha nár chaitheas le tuatúlacht.²⁶
- (iv) Níl an crann caorthainn craosach cáil-bhréagáí
 den ghréasán a sníomhadh as fuíoll gach garbh-chéasnaí,
 nach mbeidh cúr lena craos go dian fá mo
 cheol-bhuaireamh,
 mar mhuc bheadh faoi dhlí tráth mhian léi pór-éigniú.²⁷
- (v) Ní tréan mé ag labhairt, agus ní mheasaim gur cúis
 náire,
 is éan bocht scaite mé ó chaill mé mo chúl báire;
 níl péin, níl peannaid, níl galra chomh tromchráite
 le héag na gcarad, nó scaradh na gcompánach.²⁸
- (vi) Easmail is ár gach lá go dúbalta
 galar a's smál id lár gan dúil i sult
 nár mhairir um Cháisc, an tráth is dlúth go bhfuil
 mo stocaí id mhála i n-áit tuistiúin agat.²⁹

In examples (i) - (v) the lines feature assonantal ornamentation on both the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables. This circumstance is susceptible, in theory, of three possible explanations:

- (a) Both penult and antepenult are to be taken as stressed. In this case the line must be classified as type 5.2, the penultimate foot being monosyllabic.
- (b) The penult is to be taken as stressed, the antepenult unstressed. The line would thus be classed as type 4.2, with double ornamentation in the penultimate foot.
- (c) The antepenult is to be taken as stressed and the penult unstressed, giving line-type 4.3 with double ornamentation in the cadential foot.

In order to decide which analysis is the correct one in any given case, one must consider the overall rhythmical integrity of the lines, avoiding an analysis which would create any rhythmical awkwardness in the lines when spoken. Similarly one must take into account the natural stress-pattern, allowing stress to fall as nearly as possible as it would do in normal speech; and in doing this one must consider the possible occurrence of forward stress in the poet's own dialect. Finally one may also look to other stanzas of the same poem for evidence of an overall structural scheme--although this will not be an infallible guide in every case.³⁰

Example (i) above seems to me to be most appropriately classed as type 4.2: such an analysis leaves the rhythmic character of the lines unimpaired; and the syntax of the lines fully supports such an explanation, as adjectival elements such as those at the ends of the first three lines would attract stress naturally in any event. In the other two stanzas of the poem trisyllabic words are to be found in cadential position in some lines (*lántséideadh*, *bhráisléidibh*, *smáilBhéarla*), but in these cases the rules of forward stress would result in the same interpretation being applied.

Example (ii) is similar to (i), except that the first of two cadential ornamented syllables is short rather than long. In addition a very high proportion of lines in the poem as a whole end in a single trisyllabic word: the syntactic argument for placing stress on the penult which we were able to call upon in the previous case does not here seem to apply. In fact, a Connacht or Ulster reader could recite this poem according to the rules of his own dialect without doing any rhythmical violence to the lines, interpreting them as type 4.3(b). The fact, however, that the poem hails from the province of Munster must finally convince us that the poem should be classed as type 4.2(e), allowing for the role of forward stress in the poet's native speech.

The third example is from a poem by Dáibhidh ó Bruadair, and presents a problem similar to that which we encountered in an earlier chapter in connexion with another of ó Bruadair's poems.³¹ The problem is this: whilst we may assume that forward stress was a feature of ó Bruadair's own speech, the enforcement of its rules in the present case

will result in rendering the lines rhythmically awkward. If forward stress is assumed, the clearly-defined triple rhythm established in the first two feet will be disrupted by the necessity for a quadrisyllabic third foot. Furthermore, the ornamental feature distinguishing the antepenult will tend to be obscured if it falls at the end of such a quadrisyllabic foot. On the other hand, if one assumes that the lines are intended to correspond to type 4.3(a) their rhythmical integrity is unimpaired and the felicity of the double ornamentation at the cadence can be fully appreciated.

Example (iv) differs from the previous three in having been composed in the province of Ulster, by the Armagh poet Art Mac Cumhaigh. Here each line ends in a trisyllabic compound each syllable of which is to some extent ornamentally marked. The ornamentation of the first and third syllables, however, is not as systematic as that of the second, which contains the vowel /e:/ in all four lines.³² This circumstance would tend to support an analysis which called for stress to fall on this second syllable, giving line-type 4.2(e). The remaining stanzas of the poem, on the other hand, are unequivocally of type 4.3(b), with only the stressed initial syllable of the cadence being ornamented. Three such verses actually precede the stanza quoted here, a circumstance which must incline the reader to a similar interpretation of these lines, whatever the vagaries of the ornamentation. It may simply be the case that MacCumhaigh is here experimenting with double ornamentation--a phenomenon more normally associated with works of Munster poets--and has not quite managed to bring the attempt off.

The fifth example is the work of the harper ó Cearbhalláin, and presents a slightly different problem. Here neither of the four-stress options yields a very felicitous result: the 4.2 interpretation would seem to require a duple rhythm for which there is no evidence in lines 3 and 4; and the 4.3 interpretation would do violence to the syntax of lines 1 and 2 by suppressing the natural nuclear stress on *náire* and *báire*. A clue may, however, be offered by the only other stanza in the poem (the first) which must unequivocally be classified as type 5.1. Here, of course, the lines end in an unstressed syllable, so that interpretation is not possible. One could, however, assume a five-stress line-type (type 5.2, rather rare but nevertheless attested) if one were satisfied that the

antepenult could fill a foot on its own. This is certainly possible in the first two lines, where syntactic considerations would normally require nuclear stress to fall on the adjectival element. In lines 3 and 4, however, we must assume some variety of forward stress--a feature which would not, to my knowledge, have been native to ó Cearbhalláin--if we are to place nuclear stress on the second syllable of *tromchráite* and *compánach*. Justification for this may be that the initial syllables of these words are not strictly destressed; rather--assuming that the poet intends the syllables *trom-* and *com-* to assonate--the words contain two syllables with long clear vowels, the second of which is only somewhat more heavily stressed than the first. This represents, in fact, only a minor departure from the reality of normal Connacht speech, where the initial would receive the heavier stress but the vowels in both syllables would remain clear, and the syllables would enjoy a more-or-less equal quantity relationship with each other.

Finally we come to our last example, a stanza from a poem by Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin. Here the double ornamentation is of a slightly different character, involving the final syllable in the line rather than the penult.³³ There is thus no difficulty in allowing stress to fall on the antepenult; the question rather is whether or not an additional stress should be recognised at the end of the line, giving line-type 5.1 rather than type 4.3. The poem as a whole, in fact, contains a good many lines susceptible of the former explanation, although the final syllable is for the most part ornamented with the short unrounded vowel (i*), and even that not entirely systematically. On the other hand the long /u:/ vowel on the antepenult is undoubtedly a more striking ornamental feature, thoroughly suited to marking a nuclear-stressed syllable. Add to this the fact that some of the lines--including the first in the stanza quoted--can by no stretch of the imagination be interpreted as containing five stresses, and it becomes clear that one should in this instance analyse the overall line-structure as type 4.3, granting that a number of the lines will contain destressed lexical monosyllables as their final element. Such an analysis may not be entirely satisfactory; but the importance of nuclear stress in marking the line-end cannot be exaggerated; and this being the case it is extremely unlikely that the poet would allow such stress to fall on the likes of the third syllable of *dúbalta* (or, in other stanzas, *dúthrachtach*, *dlúith-threasgairt*,

úrnaighthe, dúlaighthe, dlúth fairis, etc.), however one might argue for it in the case of lines like the second in our quatrain. It would appear that if we are to allow the possibility of any sort of stress falling at the end of such lines we must describe it as an optional, subsidiary, post-cadential (and thus post-nuclear) stress, useful to the poet striving for rhythmical subtlety but in no way fundamentally altering the linear definition of the verse.³⁴

6.5 Summary

In the following summary of four-stress line patterns, those patterns in which a caesura is present are indicated by the use of a colon in the appropriate foot. The position of the colon is not, however, meant to indicate where the caesura may actually fall in the foot concerned, as this often varies from poem to poem and even, in some cases, within a stanza.

Patterns in triple rhythm

(a)	/3/3/3/1	/3/3/3/2/	/3/3/3/3/
(b)	/3/2:/2/1/	/3/2:/2/2/	/3/2:/2/3/
(c)	/3/3/2/1/	/3/3/2/2/	
(d)	/2/2/2/1/	/2/2/2/2/	/2/2/2/3/
(e)		/3/2:/3/2/	/3/2:/3/3/
(f)		/2/3/3/2/	/2/3/3/3/
(g)		/2/2/3/2/	
(h)			/1/3/3/3/
(i)	/3/3/1/1/		

Patterns in duple rhythm

(j)	/4/4/4/1/	/4/4/4/2/	/4/4/4/3/
(k)	/4/3:/4/1/		/4/3:/4/3/
(l)	/4/4/3/1/		
(m)	/4/4/2/1/		

(n) /4/3:/2/1

(o)

/4/3:/3/2/

Rhythmically ambiguous pattern

(p)

/2/3:/2/2/

/2/3:/2/3/

1. *A chailín bhig uasail* (CO:109). Other examples of this pattern (with not necessarily the same ornamental features) include the following: *Caidé sin do'n té sin nach mbaineann sin dó?* (DCCU:239); *Léigheas an ghúta* (CL) (DCCU:266); *Máire Nic Comhaill* (DCCU:313); *Réidh-chnoc Mná Duibhe* (AG:37); *Táim breóidhte go leór* (ACF:36); *An cat fireann bán* (DD:65); *Giorróid ó Mordha* (ACG:158); *Caoineadh an Athar Liam Uí Mhaolalaigh* (DTA:56); *An Spiorad Naomh* (ND 1:40); *Ciach ar na Bairnigh!* (ND 3:14); *Moladh Eanaigh* (EOS:92); *A ógánaigh Uasail* (AMS:6); *Frinseach Thír' Eoghain* (AMS:60); *Nóirín mo Mhian* (AMS:139); *Labhrás a' Charnáin* (AGI:28); *Arthur Mhac Eoin* (AMC:105); *An Mairnéalach Loinge* (Gunn:36). This pattern sometimes occurs as the 'A' component in a complex stanza-form 3A+B, where 'B' is a type 3.2 line. See, for example, *Mo Theaghlach* (ACF:58); *An Sárú* (MMS:92); *Amhrán an Téi* (AMS:45); *Tá mo chleamhnas déanta* (AMS:130).
2. *Cé sin ar mo thuama?* (OT:312). Other examples: *Amhrán Bréagach* (CO:85); *A Mháire is a Mhuirín* (ND 3:48); *Aililiú na gamhna!* (ND 3:60); *Malsaigh Ní Dhúithche* (DCCU:119); *"Brian ó Dálaigh"* (DCCU:168); *Mo Sheandúine Dóighte* (DCCU:277); *Séamas A' Mhurfaidh* (ACU:61); *Tuireamh Mhurcha Crúis* (SMC:32); *Plaincstí an tSeiriodánaigh* (Raf.:263); *Tarraingt na Móna* (RB:65); *Feartlaoi* (RB:91); *Na hAoiseanna* (FC:74); *Dún Níne* (AGI:47); *Cathaoir Mhac Cába* (ACG:108); *Cáineadh Phara Joe...* (CCU:125); *Bidí* (ND 2:10); *Cúirt Uí Cheallacháin* (OT:144); *Príosún Chluain Meala* (OT:330); *Slán chum Carraig an Éide* (EOS:94); *An Corrán* (DD:45); *Tarngaireacht Dhoinn Fhirinnigh* (IM 2:46); *An Sean-Duine Seoirse* (PPM:96); *An Bhaintreabhach 's an Mhaighdion* (PPM:142). This pattern appears to be one of those traditionally identified with *caoineadh* metre, although as the above list testifies it has not been used exclusively for lamentation. A number of songs employing this linear pattern also incorporate a short refrain, consisting of only a couple of words or meaningless vocable syllables (e.g. *m'ochón-ó*, *'s an bó leó* etc.): *Art ó Ceallaigh* (CO:40); *Máirseáil an tSáirséalaigh* (ND 2:4); *Mairne thaidhg Mhá Chárthaigh* (CM:31); *Máire Ní Chinnfhaolaidh* (DO:79); *Ar an dTaobh thall de'n Ghóilín* (ACF:26); *Cois Chalaithé an Ghóilín* (ACF:212). The last two appear to be related texts.
3. *Fáidín ó Rafartaigh* (ACF:118). Other examples: *Heistí Hó...* (DCCU:257); *An Cíos Catoilceach* (Raf.:58); *Gile na Gile* (FF:28). The latter poem, by Aodhán ó Rathaille, is a more sophisticated composition and displays double ornamentation in the cadential foot.
4. *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (BM:11. 721-30): assonating vowels, whether internal or line-final, change in no predictable pattern in this poem (for discussion of the metre of the *Cúirt* see §4.1.1 below). Other examples: *Er mwaidin ine* (Free.:255); *Er mwaidin er drúcht* (Free.:323); *Rosc-Catha na Mumhan* (FF:40); *An Fia Mór Fáin* (Gunn:32). A number of poems employing this accentual pattern incorporate a one-line refrain: *An óg-Chearc Ghuir* (ACF:44); *Sheán ó wár a chnuic* (Free.:260); *A Chuisle mo Chroidhe* (ACF:69); *Cuisle na héigse* (PPM:60). It is perhaps significant that all of the items in the sample which use this pattern appear to be of Munster origin.

9. *Do chuala scéal do chéas gach ló mé* (ND 1:31). Other examples: *Cruit Phádraig Mhic a Liondain* (PML:53); *Créacht do dháil mé* (DOB:26); *An Sciolladh* (FC:77); *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (BM:e.g. ll. 168-70); *Ar bhas Sheaghain Uí Choileain* (ILM:50); *Marbhna Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Néill* (CCU:17); *Fear an Bhata* (CCU:102); *Caoineadh do Ghabha óg Ciarraíoch* (DO:56); *Beo-chaoine Mhartain Uí Chreadain* (ILM:72). *Dáibhidh ó Bruadair* achieves an interesting effect in the first part of *Is bocht mo bheatha* (DOB:50) by allowing short syllables to fall under stress in some of the pre-cadential feet; the result is a slightly syncopated rhythm in some lines, reminiscent of a 'scotch snap'. As the above list indicates this pattern is another of those traditionally identified with *caoineadh* metre.
10. *Do chuala inné* (OT:92); see discussion of unstressed ornament below, §6.4. See also the first stanza of *Brighid a Stóir* (AGCC:76); the other stanzas use the more popular 4.2 version of this pattern.
11. *Eoghainín ó Ragadáin* (CT:46). Other examples: *An Banbh* (ACF:52), and some lines of the *ceangal* to *Mairgnidh an Chait* (R agus A:68).
12. *Airnéis tSagsanach* (PH:15): the double ornament in the first foot materially alters the rhythmical character of the foot. Another example: *De chonradh foirceadal* (ND 1:47).
13. *Ruaidhrí ó Catháin* (MMS:50). Other examples: *Mo mhíle slán le éirinn* (CO:103); *A Chomhairleachaí* (CO:49); *Bruach na Cairthe Léith'* (CO:21); *A Mháire, is mór a' náire dhuit* (DCCU:87); *Neillidh Bhán* (ACU:39); *Goidé ghéanfas mise i mbárach* (DCCU:105); *Táim-se ar an mbaile seo* (ACF:34); *Amhrán an Anró* (MMS:80); *Caipín Bruadar* (ACG:5); *Tomás Bán Mhac Aodhagáin* (ACG:45); *Domhnall* (ACG:91); *Taobh thall de chlaidhe na teorthann* (ACG:113); *Máire Ní Mhaoileoin* (OT:316); *Amhrán na Trá Báine* (ND 3:16); *Amhrán Mhuighinse* (ND 3:23); *Ros a' Mhíl* (ND 3:34); *Fáinne Geal an Lae* (ND 3:48); *Máir' Ní Ghríofa* (AMS:15); *Bean an t-Seanduine* (AMS:32); *Is truagh gan mis' i Sasana* (AMS:120); *An Raicín Áluinn* (AMS:132); *An tSlis* (FC:64); *Mná na mBaintreabhacha* (AGI:41); *Máire Bheag* (CCU:94).
14. *Casadh cam na Feardarnaighe* (ACU:87). Other examples: *Tháinig luch isteach chugam* (CO:97); *Aililiú na gamhna!* (refrain) (ND 3:60); *Habit Shirt* (Free.:95); *A h-Uiscidhe Chroidhe na n-Anaman* (IPS:100); *Loch Aoidh* (DCCU:186); *Aryr is mé 'r mo wogadyl* (Free.:299); *Inghíon an Phalaitínigh* (ACF:116); *Geobham airis an crúiscín* (vv. 2-3) (ACF:77); *Sicíní Bhrighid éadhmuinn* (ACG:32); *A ógánaigh an chúil cheangailte* (AGCC:40); *An margadh* (ND 2:73); *Colsalach* (Iorr.:213); *An Bás agus Seán an Chomhrádha* (Iorr.:220); *Madadh Uí Anluain* (AMB:41); *Bean ósta Bhearna Gaoithe* (DO:66); *Préachán Chill Chainnigh* (DO:38); *Na Buachaillí i n-Albain* (CCU:143); *An Ghiobóg* (CCU:106); *Ceattuigh Bhán* (CCU:75).
15. *Seáinín a' Mhargaidh* (CO:23). Another example: *An Fheamainn* (MMS:104).
16. *Fáidín Bán Ua Cormaic* (AGI:25). Another example: *Uaill-ghuth an aoibhnis* (IPS:134).
17. *An Faotín*, recorded by Connemara singer Máire Áine Ní Dhonnchadha on her LP *Deora Áille* (Ceirníní Cladaigh CC6). This song is not

included in the sample (its non-appearance in printed sources may be due to some verses being rather racy), but I mention it here as it illustrates a pattern not otherwise attested in the sample.

18. *A fhir chalma* (DCCU:344). See also some lines of *Risteard ó Bruineann* (OT:324).
19. *Mise an tOllamh saoihiúil* (AMC:101). Other examples: *Maidin áluinn gréine* (ACF:50); *Katteen* (CO:138).
20. Recorded by present writer (24/2/85) from John Kennedy, Cullybackey, Co. Antrim.
21. Recorded in August 1974 at the Oireachtas in Connemara. Singer's name unknown.
22. *A Bhríd, a Stór* (DTA:29). Other examples: *An bhean chaointe* (ACU:31); *Brón Dhómhnaill i ndiaidh Mhaghnuis* (DCCU:148); *Eóin Búrcach* (ACU:73); *Seanchus na Sgeiche* (Raf.:129); *An Láí* (FC:49); *Caoine na Maighdine* (Breat.:245); *Donncha Bán* (OT:336). In many of these examples the pattern is not as clearly represented as in the stanza I have quoted; nevertheless they do seem to imply the same generalised structure. It is noticeable that in a number of examples (including the one quoted) ornamentation, other than end-rhyme, seems to be lacking in a majority of lines.
23. *Dónall óg* (DD:106). Other examples: *Dá méing-she féinig* (Free.:270); *Snuim a Ghrá* (Free.:329).
24. Attributed to the Ossory poet Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig († c. 1652) (ND 1:11); cf. also line-type 4.2(g) above.
25. Anon., Munster origin (ND 1:43). Compare *A chuaine chaomhsa* v. 2 (ND 1:19) by Pádraigín Haicéad, and the first two stanzas of *A fhile chirt ghéir* by Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin (EOS:85).
26. By Dáibhidh ó Bruadair (OT:114).
27. By Art Mac Cumhaigh (AMC:104, v.4). Other stanzas of this poem are clearly type 4.3(b), with only the stressed syllable of the cadence being ornamented.
28. By Toirealach ó Cearbhalláin (ND 2:5). The other stanza in this poem is unequivocally classifiable as type 5.1.
29. By Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin (FF:114); see above, pattern 4.3(b). Some stanzas in the same poem could, were it not for their context, clearly be interpreted as type 5.1 (e.g. vv. 5, 7). Compare similarly ó Bruadair's poem *Is mairg nár chrean ré maitheas saoghalta* (ND 1:50).
30. For example, of the seven quatrains in Eoghan Rua's poem *A fhile chirt ghéir* (EOS:85-6) the first two are type 4.2, the next four type 5.1, and the final stanza type 4.1.
31. *Iomdha scéimh ar chur na cluana* (DOB:98); see discussion in §4.1.2 above.

32. The editor of AMC notes that *buaireamh* = *baoireadh* in the poet's dialect (AMC:68).
33. A similar case is the example used to illustrate pattern 4.3(d) above.
34. A number of scholars have attempted to arrive at a unified explanation for trisyllabic cadential feet which would take account of the possibility of their embodying such a subsidiary stress (see, for example, the arguments of Watkins and Carney summarised in the preceding chapter). The trouble with such studies is that they tend to assume that all stresses in the line must be of equal importance, totally ignoring the crucial role of nuclear stress in defining the line-end boundary. The first priority in determining the character of a cadential foot must be to identify that syllable which will carry or initiate the intonation contour for the 'verse utterance' (i.e. the line); this syllable will then be identified as the nuclear syllable, the syllable bearing cadential stress, the last and most important stressed syllable in the line. It would, however, seem to be possible in some circumstances for a cadential stressed syllable to be followed by another semi-stressed syllable: in the case of verse in duple rhythm the third syllable in a trisyllabic cadence could be seen to fall at the position of secondary ictus in the cadential foot; and as we have seen in the present context something similar is possible even in the context of triple rhythm. This will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the workings of nuclear stress and intonation in normal speech, where an intonation contour may involve more than one stressed syllable. The first such syllable, however, is always the most important, as it is this syllable which initiates the pitch movement of the contour. Verse, of course, has its own requirements, different from those of ordinary speech: a line like */galar a's /smál id /lár gan /dúil i sult*, occurring in the context of line-type 4.3, must be regarded as somewhat exceptional, requiring as it does the artificial destressing of a syllable which would ordinarily fall under nuclear stress. In such cases the normal rules applicable to ordinary speech must be held in abeyance in order that the rhythmical regularity required by the verse medium may be achieved.

7 : TAXONOMY :

FIVE-STRESS LINE-TYPES

7.0 The five-stress line-types differ from four-stress and other types in being far less freely variable. In the first place, patterns associated with the five-stress line appear almost exclusively to be triple in rhythm: the one item in our sample which would seem to contradict this statement yet contains a number of lines which are comprehensible only when heard as triple.¹ Secondly, nearly all examples illustrative of this line-type are monosyllabic at the cadence; a very small number are disyllabic, and there are no trisyllabic examples. Similar uniformity is evidenced by the stanzaic structures associated with the five-stress line: with one exception all examples of this line-type occur in the context of quatrain structures.² Assonantal ornamentation of the cadential stress is required, as is (in most cases) *aicill* rhyme at the mid-line phrase-boundary between the second and third feet. The first and fourth feet are also frequently ornamented, although such ornamentation--as in the case of a four-stress line--is more optional for the reason that it serves no demarcatory function. The most common ornamental formulae associated with the five-stress line-types are thus /AB:BCR/ and /AB:BAR/, differing only in that the second of these repeats the 'A' assonance in the fourth foot. Both formulae are frequently found in non-systematic variants, normally /-B:BCR/ or /-B:B-R/. A handful of the more learned poets have, exceptionally, experimented with other ornamental patterns and with double ornamentation in some feet, but these attempts represent no more than half-a-dozen examples in the sample overall, and may be regarded as rare even in the context of other works by these same poets.³

7.1 Five-stress patterns

- (a) The most popular five-stress pattern embodies a sort of 'mirror image' construction, the third and fourth feet reversing the pattern of the first and second. This chiasitic or retrograde feature is enhanced by the ornamental scheme which appears to require long vowels or diphthongs under stress in the disyllabic second and

third feet, contrasting with short vowels under stress in the trisyllabic first and fourth.

- 5.1 A /chara mo /chleibh 's a /Shéamais /ghreannmhair /ghráigh
d'fhuil /Ghearaltaigh /Ghréagaigh /éachtaigh /armnirt /áigh,
/maide glan /réidh i /ngléas biodh /agat dom /rámhainn
's mar /bharra ar an /scléip cuir /léi go /greanta ba/cán.⁴

() / / () / / : () / / () / / () / /
A B: B A R

- (b) Another very popular pattern contains trisyllabic feet throughout. Stressed vowels may be either long or short.

- 5.1 Is é /Tomás ó /Dálaigh d'fhág /fán agus /sgap ar aois /óig,
A's ó /d'imir an /bás air, na /grása go /dtuga Dia /dhó.
Tá an /tír seo ar fad /cráidhte ag síor-/thrácht air ó
/d'éag ár bhfear-/spóirt
Do /bhéarfadh an /báire as gach /ceárda le /breághtha a
chuid /ceoil.⁵

() / / () / / () / / () / / () / /
- B: B - R

- (c) In another popular pattern the first three feet are trisyllabic and the fourth disyllabic. The fourth stressed vowel must be long, and the second and third are normally short.

- 5.1 ó /torchradh an /t-oineach 's gur /imigh fuil /ard Uí
/Ruairc,
's tar /gorm-muir /uile gur /cuireadh síol /nDálaigh /uainn,
's é /stoirm an /chiotha chuir /sinne in do /dháilse ar
/cuairt,
's ní /dorcha do /shloinneadh ná mar /chuiris na /bráithre
/uaid.⁶

() / / () / / () / / () / / () / /
A B: B C R

- (d) Another quite popular pattern contains disyllabic feet throughout. All or most of the stressed syllables will contain long vowels or diphthongs, thus ensuring that the rhythm remains clearly triple in character.

- 5.1 Níl /stáidbhean /shéimh de /Ghaela /beo, mo/nuar,
gan /rás na /ndéar ag /céimniú /ród ina /ngrua;
de /bhláth gach /déise is /féir an /snó do /chuaigh,
is gan /ál ar /chéis ón /éag sin /Eoghain /Rua.⁷

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A B: B C R

Pádraig Breatnach has pointed out (1983:56) that this pattern has also appeared in French, German and English poetry of early date. He quotes from an edition of *La vie de Saint Alexis* (12th cent.):

Ja /mais n'iert /tels com /fut as /anceisors

similarly, from a poem by the German poet Heinrich von Morungen († 1222):

Ich /bin noch /alse /si mich /hat ver/lân.

and from the General Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*:

A /Knyght ther /was and /that a /worthy /man.

Breatnach's suggestion (1983:60) that the international distribution of this particular pentameter line-pattern could be due to a musical factor may, indeed, prove to be a reasonable one--more reasonable in this case, at any rate, than in the case of other, typically Irish patterns where the number of syllables varies in a regular fashion from foot to foot.

This pattern is one of the few which may be found with a disyllabic cadence as well as a monosyllabic; but in spite of the fact that the following quatrain by Keating has been frequently cited by scholars considering the possible origins of Irish accentual verse, the pattern which it represents is far from being a common one:

5.2 óm /sceol ar /ardmhagh /Fáil ní /chodlaim /oíche
 's do /bhreoigh go /bráth mé /dála a /pobail /dílis;
 gé /rófhada a/táid 'na /bhfál ré /broscar /bíobha,
 fá /dheoidh gur /fhás a /lân den /chogal /tríothu.²⁶

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪
 A B: B C R

- (e) Another quite popular pattern is one which represents the reverse of pattern (a) above: the first and fourth feet are disyllabic, while the second and third are trisyllabic. There is normally an orna-

mental contrast between stressed long vowels in the first and fourth feet, and short ones in the second and third.

- 5.1 A /éire, a /chailleach is /malartach /bréagach /foinn,
a /mheirdreach /bhradach le /sealad nár /éim' ach /sinn,
do /léigis /farat na /Galla-sa i /réim id /eing
do /léirscrios /seachad mar /bhastard gach /aon ded
/chlainn.⁹

A B: B A R

- (f) Aogán Ó Rathaille's poem *Faoi lár na lice seo* illustrates a pattern only slightly different from (e), the fourth foot being trisyllabic:

- 5.1 Faoi /lár na /lice seo /curtha tá an /ollaphiast /reamhar
do /chráidh le /dlighthibh an /fhuirionn ba /mhinió riamh
/teann
dob' /fhearrde /mise, a's gach /nduine atá ag /fulangpian
/Gall,
an /bás dá /sgíobadh tá /tuilleadh agus /fiche bliadhain
/ann.¹⁰

A B: B C d R

- (g) The following pattern represents the reverse of pattern (c) above: the first three feet are disyllabic and are normally ornamented with long vowels under the stress; the fourth foot is trisyllabic and its stressed vowel is usually short.

- 5.1 An /maighre /maordha /méarlach /masgalach /mná
do /Thadhg is /caomhthach /cléibh 's is /measda dá /cháil;
dá /bhfaghaim gach /lae don /daonnacht /leanaid mar /ghnás
/toillfid /baochas /Dé is mo /bheannacht-sa /dáibh.¹¹

A B: B C R

- (h) A few poets have used the following pattern, which differs from pattern (a) only in that the fourth foot is disyllabic and carries a long stressed vowel:

- 5.1 Tá /eatortha a/raon a /méid seo /chím-se is /feas
go /mb' fhearra liom /béith na /gcraobh-fholt /gciórtha
/gcas
ar /leabain lem /thaobh nó ar /aonach /taoibh liom /seal
'ná /baile is leath /éireann 's a /mbé le /sraoille
/leamh.¹²

() / / () / / : () / / () / / () / /
 A B: B C R

- (i) The following three patterns have been used by a few of the learned poets. The most arresting feature of all three is the monosyllabic second foot. In the first of these patterns the initial foot is trisyllabic, the penultimate disyllabic:

5.1 A /choilm an /cheoil /bhrónaig san /dúna /thall
 is /doilbh an /róimh /nósmhar so /fúibh go /fann
 /Tulach Uí /Róigh /mhórga na /múrtha /mbeann,
 gan /choirm, gan /cheol seolta ná /lúbadh /lann!¹³

() / / () / / : / / () / / () / /
 A B: B C R

- (j) The second pattern differs from (i) only in that the penultimate foot is trisyllabic, rather than disyllabic:

5.1 /Maidean sul /smaoin /Titan a /chosa do /luaill
 ar /mhullach cnoic /aoird /aoibhinn do /lodamar /suas,
 /tarrastar /linn /scaoth bhruinneal /soilbhir /suairc--
 /gasra /bhi i /Sídh Seanadh, /solasbhruigh /thuaidh.¹⁴

() / / () / / : / / () / / () / /
 A B: B A R

- (k) The third pattern is also similar to (i) in having the monosyllabic second foot; in this case, however, both the initial and penultimate feet are disyllabic:

5.1 A /réithleann /iúil /d'iompaigh an /oíche i /lá
 is do /thréig an /chrú /chumhra nár /thuill a /tál,
 ós /éigean /dúinn /iomchar na /daoirse a /tá,
 /réidh, a /rúin, /mh'iontrast i /dtír na /ngrás.¹⁵

() / / () / / : / / () / / () / /
 A B: B C R

- (l) The following pattern also contains a monosyllabic pre-cadential foot, this time the fourth. It is an unusual pattern also in that it appears to be attested only with a disyllabic final foot. In the preceding chapter we saw this pattern exemplified in a stanza by Ó Cearbhalláin (see §6.4, ex. [v]); it may be that this pattern evolved through reinterpretation of a 4.3 pattern. Here is a further example:

5.2 /Cabhair ní /ghairfead go /gcuirther mé i /gcrúinn-
 /chomhráinn--
 dar an /leabhar dá /ngairinn níor /ghaire-de an /ní
 /dhomh-sa;
 ár /gcodhnach /uile, glac-/chumasach /shíl /Eoghain,
 is /tollta a /chuisle, 'gus /d'imigh a /bhrí ar /feochadh.¹⁶

() / / () / / () () / / () () / / / / ()
 A B: B C R

- (m) We have already on several occasions had to acknowledge the metrical inventiveness of Pádraigin Haicéad. The rhythm of the following lines is reminiscent of that achieved in the same poet's composition *Do Thiobóid Buitléar* (see Ch. 6, n. 7). In both poems Haicéad makes subtle use of epenthetic syllables, resulting in the regular occurrence of seemingly quadrisyllabic feet. This device does not, however, have the effect of rendering the rhythm duple, presumably because the epenthetic vowel is meant to be pronounced very short, and combined with the preceding vowel, to fill no more space than that required for any other single syllable in the line. What we mean here may best be illustrated using musical notation:

() | . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . | . |

5.1 /Mé /d'fhanamhain ar /eachtra sa /taobhsa ós /toinn
 /d'éis /m'amaraic ar /Bhanba na /gcaomhchnoc /gcrúinn
 /'s d'éis /caidribh na /gasra dár /chaomhthach /sinn,
 is /daor /ceannaithear an /aibidil /léighinn /linn.
 (ND 1:20)

() / / / () () () / / () () () / / () / /
 A B: B A R

- (n) Finally we have what would appear to be a genuine example of a five-stress line employing duple rhythm. As we hinted earlier (n. 1 above), the air to which this text is sung might have contributed to its markedly march-like character:

5.1 /Lá breágh dhá /ndeachamar ag /breathnughadh ar an /rígean
 /mná
 Ba /í siúd /ainnirín na /maille-ros is na /mín geal
 /breágh;
 Bhí a /gruaidh ó thrí /ghartha léi mar /bhreacamuinn an
 /t-aolmar /bhláth,
 Is a /seang-chum /mhalaidh le go /searcfainn léi gach
 /síor-linn /ann. (ACG:104)

7.2 Subsidiary patterns

Patterns (a) to (n) are the only ones attested in our sample as what we may call 'basic' patterns, i.e. patterns which can be shown to have appeared consistently in every line of at least one quatrain in the sample. The examples quoted, and those cited in the notes, bear witness to these patterns having been used in this 'basic' fashion. It would, however, be wrong to leave the impression that they have *only* been used in this way, for the majority of these patterns are far more commonly encountered in combination than on their own, particularly in the vast body of popular verse. It would additionally be wrong to imply that the above patterns are the only ones encountered in the context of the five-stress line. There are, in fact, nearly as many patterns again, patterns for which we have so far no evidence of their having been used as basic patterns, but which are nevertheless plentifully attested in the literature.

Certain rules would appear to govern which patterns combine most easily with one another. It is, for example, largely the case that patterns will combine which differ from one another only in the matter of a single foot. Thus we find numerous examples of pattern (c) combining with pattern (e), which differs from (c) only in that the initial foot is disyllabic rather than trisyllabic.¹⁷ As a corollary to this it may be said that such differences in the main seem to involve the first three feet, the penultimate foot being somehow less vulnerable because, presumably, of its position next to the cadence. Thus pattern (b) combines with pattern (c) very much less frequently than pattern (e) does, seemingly because the difference between patterns (b) and (c) involves this penultimate foot.¹⁸ All this is not to say that patterns differing in two respects from one another are never to be found in combination (one very frequently, for instance, encounters patterns (a) and (b) in the same stanza¹⁹), nor that differences involving the penultimate foot are never countenanced (see the combination of patterns (b) and (c) to which we just referred). It seems, however, that such combinations are on the

whole less favoured--and less successful when they do occur--than are those in which the patterns used seem to be closely related to one another.²⁰

The patterns in the following list may perhaps, until further evidence is forthcoming, be regarded as variants of the most popular basic patterns. Such a view would appear to be justified in light of the fact that they have not, so far, evolved to the point of independent existence, i.e. of serving as the systematic, productive pattern for a uniformly composed stanza such as those quoted already; further, the occurrence of such stanzas is on the whole limited to contexts whose overall character is defined by that of a given basic pattern.

Because some of the basic patterns are more frequently met with in our sample than others, they will be seen to govern a greater number of variant patterns. Thus a stanza may contain lines exemplifying two, three, or even four different accentual patterns, the relationship between which may only be revealed through their individual relationships with the basic pattern of the stanza. In the following quatrain, for example, the second line corresponds to the basic pattern 5.1(a); lines 1 and 4, however, exemplify pattern (o), and line three pattern (s):

Is a /bhruinneall gan /smál a bhfuil an /deállradh /deas in do
 /ghruaidh,
 'Sé an /buachaillín /bán a /b'fhearr liom /seal leat d'á /luadh;
 Ní /cheilfidh mé ar /chách fios /m'ádhbhair is go /bhfuil mé faoi
 /ghruaim;
 Acht /dh'aindeoin fearaibh /Fáil 'sí mo /ghrádh geal /bean an
 fhir /ruaidh.²¹

(o)	u / / u u / / u u / / u / / u u / /	(11. 1, 4)
(a)	u / / u u / / : u / / u / / u u / /	(1. 2)
(s)	u / / u u / / : u / / u u / / u u / /	(1. 3)

Patterns (o) and (s), of course, differ from one another in two respects; but their individual relationships with pattern (a) maintain a tighter bond, and illustrate the priority of pattern (a) as the basic one in the stanza as a whole. An understanding of the importance of such relationships may, indeed, prove to be a powerful tool in the hands of the editor seeking to define the basic accentual pattern of a text or to choose between variant readings available to him: by working out which of several line-patterns was most closely related to most of the others in a

stanza he could determine which of them was the basic productive pattern for the verse as a whole. As this quatrain from *Bean an Fhir Ruaidh* demonstrates, it is not necessarily the pattern appearing most frequently within a stanza which exemplifies the basic underlying pattern of that stanza.

In order to conserve space the lines illustrating these variant patterns are taken out of context. In each case, however, it is indicated with what basic pattern or patterns the variant is most likely to combine, and the notes refer the reader to a number of further examples.

- (o) This pattern, illustrated in lines 1 and 4 of the preceding example, is normally attested in conjunction with the basic patterns (a) and (b).²²

- (p) This pattern is found largely in connexion with patterns (c) and (h):

5.1 'S é /sgríobhadh le /peann go /tapaidh ar /pháipéar /bán²³

u / l u u / l : u / l u u / l u / l

- (q) This pattern normally occurs in combination with patterns (d) and (e):

5.1 go /dtabharfainn /caitheamh /chapaill an /iasacht' /ort!²⁴

u / l u / l u / l u u / l u / l

- (r) This pattern is principally attested in connexion with pattern (h):

5.1 Ní /fuireach is /áil ach ar /ball 'na /gcéadta /lúb²⁵

u / l u u / l u u / l u / l u / l

- (s) This pattern is illustrated in the quatrain from *Bean an Fhir Ruaidh*. It is normally to be found in conjunction with patterns (a) and (b).²⁶

- (t), (u) These patterns are both normally found in combination with pattern (d), and both may be illustrated from a single quatrain:

5.1(t) /mise, a /chéile, bheith /m'aonar /uaithi /lá
 5.1(u) is /baois /céille, is /céasadh /buan an /dail.²⁷

(t) / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /
 (u) / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /

(v) This pattern is attested only in conjunction with pattern (g):

5.1 im /chaonai /uaigneach nach /mór go /bhfeicim an /lá?²⁸

/ / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /

7.3 Summary

(a) /3/2:/2/3/1/

(b) /3/3/3/3/1/

(c) /3/3/3/2/1/

(d) /2/2/2/2/1/

/2/2/2/2/2/

(e) /2/3/3/2/1/

(f) /2/3/3/3/1/

(g) /2/2/2/3/1/

(h) /3/2:/2/2/1/

(i) /3/1:/3/2/1/

(j) /3/1:/3/3/1/

(k) /2/1:/3/2/1/

(l)

/2/3/3/1/2/

(m) /1/4/4/2/1/

(n) /4/4/4/2/1/

(o) /3/3/2/3/1/

(p) /3/2:/3/2/1/

(q) /2/2/3/2/1/

(r) /3/3/2/2/1/

(s) /3/2:/3/3/1/

(t) /2/3/2/2/1/

(u) /1/2/2/2/1/

(v) /2/3/2/3/1/

1. *Seachrán Chearbhaill* (ACG:104); see pattern 5.1(n) discussed below. Lines which may be interpreted as triple include v. 2, ll. 2-3; v. 3, l. 1; v. 4, ll. 1-3, etc. The influence of the air--which is markedly duple in rhythm, if *Seosamh ó hÉanaí*' rendering of it is any indication--would appear to be visible in some of the lines where an intrusive and meaningless syllable *ó* is included, seemingly in order to create more uniformly quadrisyllabic feet.
2. The exception occurs at the end of Ragnall Dall Mac Dómhnaill's curious composition *A Chreagáin Uaibhrigh* (DCCU:31), where a single eight-line stanza is to be found; but see discussion of *annálach* verse in Ch. 4 (§4.1.6) below.
3. See, for example, Daibhidh ó Bruadair's poem *Iongnach an iomaidh si* (DOB:122-6) in which the ornamental pattern appears to be /AAABR/. Pádraigín Haicéad is the poet seemingly fondest of double ornamentation: see *Do Roibéard ó Carrún* (OT:94), where he uses it in the first foot; also *Iar mBriseadh mo Choise Féin isan bhFrainc* (OT:94), where he uses it in the fourth foot (this example is similar to the one by Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, *Ábhar deargtha leacan do mhnaoi Chuinn é* (ND 1:12) which we examined in Ch. 3); and *Do Allsún Baidhtiún* (PH:18), in which virtually every syllable can be seen to carry an assonantal ornament.
4. *A Chara mo Chléibh* (OT:182). Other examples (first verses, unless otherwise stated): *Ciotuigh Ní Eaghra* (DCCU:197); *An Ghorta* (1846) (DCCU:369); *An Sprid* (ACF:30); *Bean an Fhir Ruaidh* (Raf.:97); *Tá mé 'mo shuí* (ND 2:74); *Don Easpag ó Siail* (CL) (SMC:53). This pattern also plays a major role in a great many other quatrains where it appears in combination with various other patterns; see §7.2 and n. 19 below.
5. *Cacine ar Thomás ó Dálaigh* (Raf.:34). Other examples: *Tá mo chóta mór stróicthe, ochón!* (CO:111); *An rábairé bacaigh ó'n Mumhain* (ND 3:58); *Caisleán Uí Néill, nó an bhean dubh ó'n sliabh* (AG:26); *A chlann a chuaidh go hOrleans* (MMS:48); *Peadairín Phádraic* (ACG:14); *Béal an Átha Buidhe* (ACG:15); *A Thomáis, a mhíle stóirín* (AMS:64); *A ógánaigh ghreannmhair* (AMB:43).
6. *Doicheall* (CL) (ND 1:35). The appearance of the occasional quadrisyllabic foot (as in the second foot of l. 4 here) in verse which is predominantly triple in character is quite a common phenomenon, particularly at a phrase-boundary; but the presence of the extra syllable is not generally reflected in the accentual pattern presented formulaically beneath the stanza. The randomness of their occurrence ensures that these slightly hypermetrical feet do not upset the overall triple character of the lines in any significant way. Where such feet occur in a systematic fashion, of course, they must be accounted for as part of the conscious metrical scheme intended by the poet. Other examples of this accentual pattern include: *A Bhídeach na gCarad* (CO:38); *Siubhán Ní Dhuibhir* (ACU:42); *Brighid Gheal Bhán* (ACF:38); *Jimmy, mo mhíle stór* (AG:47); *An Fáinne* (AG:40); *Gabhar Innse Beárna* (MMS:47); *úir-Chill a' Chreagáin* (FF:50); *D'aithle na bhfileadh* (CL) (OT:116); *Taiscidh, a chlocha* (OT:172);

Amhrán Carabhataí (DTA:64); *Iongnadh an Iomaidh si* (DOB:122); *An raibh tú ag an gcarraig?* (DG:34); *I am a young fellow* (LD:no. 61); *Béal Átha Ragad* (DO:36); *Buachaillí an Bhealaigh* (DO:41).

7. *Cumha Eoghain Rua Uí Néill* (PML:5). Other examples: *A Chuaine Chaomhsa* (ND 1:19, v. 1); *Do Mháire Tóibín* (PH:3); *Is baoth don fhear...* (PH:18); *Ar leagadh a n-arm do Ghaoidhealaibh* (PH:48); *Mo pheitision chum na Banaomh Gobnatan* (éigse 6,331-2, vv. 1, 8). Pattern (d) is also occasionally found in combination with pattern (g), as for example in *Marbhna an Athar Doimnic Bháin Uí Bhrollcháin* (DCCU:159); also with pattern (h), see *Le Linn Uaisle* (CL) (R agus A:57).
8. *óm sceol ar ardmhagh Fáil* (OT:84). Another example: *Nach ait an nós* (DOB:18, v. 1).
9. *Ábhar deargtha leacan do mhnaoi Chuinn é* (ND 1:12, v. 2). Other examples: *Cumhaidh Uí Cheallaigh* (DCCU:377); *Is fada ó bhaile* (DCCU:98); *Gile na Gile* (CL) (FF:29); *Iar mbriseadh mo choise féin isan bhFrainc* (OT:94); *Do Roiberd óg Carrún* (OT:94); *Och! a Mhuire* (CL) (ND 1:13); *Feartlaoi* (ND 2:5, v. 1); *Giodh tláthshop sgaipthe...* (PH:1); *An Diarmaid Cas Mac Airt do dh'éileamh* (CL, vv. 1, 4) (Bar.: 49-50).
10. *Faoi lár na lice leo* (FF:113). This pattern is also occasionally found in combination with pattern (e): see *Brian ó Cuagáin* (PML:24, l. 45); *Éinín Troideóige* (DCCU:115, v. 1, l. 3).
11. *Don Tadhg Céadna* (PH:17). Other examples: *Iar gclos báis Mháire* (PH:4); *Do Allsún Baidhtiún* (PH:18).
12. *Tá eatortha araon* (EOS:107). Other examples: *Duan Chroidhe íosa* (FF:17); *Créacht do dháil mé* (CL) (DOB:50); *An Bhéith* (PPM:72). In *Mo pheitision chum na Banaomh Gobnatan* (éigse 6, 332, v. 9), the Cork poet Seán ó Murchú na Ráithíneach very curiously adds an extra foot to the end of each line, thus:

Mo /pheitision /féin, a /réilteann /iúil na /ccríoch--le /cian

The result, in aural terms, must have been some sort of six-stress line--although it resembles no other six-stress pattern attested in our sample. This odd stanza presumably represents an experiment of some kind.

13. *Tuar ghil, a cholaim, do cheol!* (CL) (OT:22). Other examples: *Is fada liom oíche fhírfhliuch* (OT:140); *A bhean lán de stuaim* (ND 1:16, ll. 25 ff.).
14. *An Aisling* (OT:152). Another example: *Vailintín Brún* (OT:160).
15. *Is mairg nár chrean ré maitheas saoghalta* (ND 1:52, ll. 73 ff.). Another example: *A Bhéith na Lúb* (CL) (DOB:70). It has been suggested to me that, particularly in the case of the latter poem, a four-stress interpretation is possible, the first of the assonating 'B' vowels becoming an unstressed ornament 'b' occurring at the end of the first foot, as in the following stanza from *A Bhéith na Lúb*:

- 4.1(a) Is /céasta liom /tuirseach do /chuir dia ar /lár
 /Céile rúin /Fhionntainn is /Iriail /fáidh,
 gur /chlaon a dúil /drúiseach tar /chiniadh /Fáil
 /céadbhean Lúighidh /ionnraic mic /Mhionniadh /cháidh.

() / / / / / / / / / /
 A b B: C R

While this interpretation certainly is possible in this case, and would fall in with the most natural stress-pattern of the lines, it is perhaps less likely in the case of the example given for pattern 5.1(k), where full stress would be required on *iúil* and *rúin* at the very least. One would also have to acknowledge that the ornamental scheme /ABCR/, cited for the stanza from *A Bhéith na Lúb*, is rare in the context of four-stress line-types. At the same time it would be wrong to deny that *ó Bruadair*--who appears so far to be the only poet to have used this pattern--is one of the most subtle of our poets, and the ambiguity may well have been intentional.

16. *Cabhair ní ghairfead* (OT:164); the last line abandons the monosyllabic foot--always fragile in any case--for a disyllable. Other examples: *Fearthlaoi* (ND 2:5, v. 2); *De bhrí gach réabadh* (CL) (Bar.: 69); *Mo pheitision chum na Banaomh Gobnatan* (Éigse 6:332, v. 10).
17. For example, *Cuairt an Laoigh* (CO:48); *Táilliúir an mhagaidh* (ND 3:59); *Aisling Fhiachra Mhic Bhrádaigh* (ND 2:27); *A Ghalien Thairis* (AMC:100); *Tiobar deas chrann Moling* (DO:61).
18. But see *Uaigneas fá charaid* (DCCU:188) for combination of patterns (b) and (c).
19. As in the following: *Péarla deas an tsliabh bán* (DCCU:123); *Aodh óg ó Ruairc* (ACG:37); *Slán d'fhearaibh Laighean* (ND 2:58); *Leitir gheal ghléigeal* (CO:119); *Tá daoine a' rádh* (DCCU:83). Pattern (a) is also occasionally found in combination with pattern (h), as in *Gearrán Bhriain Uí Bheirn* (CL) (SMC:44); and with pattern (g), see *Seághan ó hEochaidh* (CCU:29, v. 1).
20. For examples of other frequently met combinations see nn. 7 and 10 above. Patterns (i) through (n) are, as has been suggested, rather more unusual, and some at least are probably the inventions of the poets in whose works they appear.
21. *Bean an Fhir Ruaidh* (ACG:135).
22. Other examples: *D'aithneochainn mo Ghrádh* (CO:46); *óg-mhná Theilinn* (DCCU:406); *An cailín deas ruadh* (AG:44); *Is claidhte an galar an grádh* (AG:39); *Croppy lie down* (DD:87); *Grá na hAilpe* (ND 2:52); *Beannaigh an longsa* (CL) (ND 1:10); *Cití na n-úll* (ND 3:41); *Angelic Maid* (PML:49); *Seabhac na rabhan* (DCCU:126); *Nár fhagha mé bás* (CO:141); *An tuirse a's an brón so* (AGCC:22); *Cathair na Léige* (ACF:134).
23. *Laoi and ghiosdaire mhaoil* (DCCU:424, v. 2). Other examples: *Caoin-eadh don Athair Risteard ó Sé* (DO:55); *An Conach* (AMC:99, 1. 2).

24. *An Dearnaid* (ND 2:24, v. 3). Other examples: *Dá mbéinn-se ar meisge* (CO:75); *Bruach na Finne* (DCCU:328); *An Marcach* (ND 2:24).
25. *Sláinte na mná Gaelaí* (POD:49). Other examples: *An freagradh ar an m-béith* (PPM:74); *Marbhna Dhonnchaidh M'Carrthaic* (IM 2:272).
26. Other examples: *Ceol na mBréag* (DCCU:270); *A Phádraig Chaoimh* (CL) (DCCU:358); *Nóra Nic Giolla Cearr* (DCCU:181); *Art Mór ó Murchaidh* (CL) (DCCU:423); *Saoghal bocht seachránach* (DCCU:387, v. 2); *Bacach na Fléide* (DCCU:386); *Barraí na hárdai* (DCCU:173); *Doimnic Ruadh na Glaisighe* (DCCU:170); *An lon dubh báidhte* (CL) (ND 2:16); *Fáilte don éan* (CL) (ND 2:17); *An Bata Draighin Éille* (DTA:42); *Cumadh an cheoil* (CL) (SMC:47); *An Capaillín Bán* (CAS 3:22); *Gréasaidhe ó'n Ghréig* (CCU:92); *Taimín Bán* (CO:121); *Seán Bán eile* (DCCU:92); *Nóra Nic Lochlainn* (DCCU:86); *A ógánaigh óig* (OT:304); *Bá Phádraig Uí Dhónaill* (ND 2:67); *An Abhainn Mhór* (ND 3:29); *Fáilte Rómhad* (CL) (R agus A:63).
27. *Tuireamh na meisce* (CL) (CB:89). A further example of pattern (t) may be seen in *Caisleán Dhúin Mathghamhain* (DCCU:204, l. 3).
28. *Ceathrú* (OT:102). Another example: *Marbhna an Athar Doimnic Bháin Uí Bhrollcháin* (DCCU:159, l. 3).

8 : TAXONOMY :

SIX-STRESS LINE-TYPES

8.0 All six-stress lines may be classified as one or the other of two types: *rócán* or *croántacht*. The *rócán* line is characterised by binary structure, being composed of two three-stress phrases separated by a clearly-indicated caesura. A line of *croántacht*, on the other hand, consists of a series of three two-stress phrases the boundaries of which are highlighted by means of a caesura and/or a reduplicative ornamental feature.

8.1 *Rócán*

Tadhg ó Donnchadha has the following suggestion to make with regard to the origins of the *rócán* type of verse:

Do déir dheallraimh (sic) do shíolruigh an Rócán ó ghné áirithe den "Ballade," a bhí coitchianta ar fuid na hÉorpa san ochtmhadh aois déag, agus bhéidir roimhe sin. Isé is dóichighe gur tré Shasana a tháinig mar nós go héirinn ar dtúis (1936:44).

As we have already established (§6.2.1 above), ó Donnchadha is certainly correct in his assertion that ballad metre is an import and not a native Irish metre. But was he equally correct in supposing a causal link between the importation of ballad metre and the evolution of the Irish *rócán*? It must be admitted that one can see why he made such an assumption. G. R. Stewart points out (1925:939) that in many English ballads the second of the three secondarily-stressed syllables is omitted, giving rise to what we would call a caesura and what he terms a 'metrical pause'. As illustration he cites the following lines (oblique lines and carets have been added):

- (a) Lord /Thomas and Fair /Annet λ
Sate /a' day on a /hill (*Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*)
- (b) But /now I have it /reapen, λ
And /some laid on my /wain (*The Cernel and the Crane*)
- (c) Chiel /Wyat and Lord /Ingram λ
Was /baith born in one /hall (*Lord Ingram and Chiel
Wyat*)

(d) Is /that my father /Philip, λ
Or /is't my brother /John? (*Sweet William's Ghost*)

One can readily understand how Prof. ó Donnchadha saw a resemblance between lines like these and lines in *rócán* metre in which, as we shall see, a mid-line silent stress appears to be an absolute requirement of the linear structure. What he failed to comprehend, however, was the dipodic character of ballad metre or, to put it in our own terms, the fact that the rhythmical character of ballad metre is inevitably duple rather than triple. This is an important consideration in view of the fact that duple rhythm does not appear, from the evidence of our sample, to be possible in the context of *rócán* metre. Nor does ó Donnchadha seem to have allowed, in his comparison of the two types, for the fact that in the commonest type of ballad metre--what Stewart calls the septenary, or 'ballad metre *par excellence*'--the presence of the mid-line phrase-boundary is obscured by the audible realisation of the secondary stress in the second foot of the line. For while our earlier discussion of the song *Cill Chais* (§5.3) demonstrated that such audible realisation is possible in the case of a *rócán* text *in the musical context*, it is only very rarely that one finds any confusion in the text itself on this point.'

Even allowing for a certain amount of 'hibernicisation' to have taken place one would, if one wished to establish a causal link between ballad metre and *rócán*, have to cite a substantial number of examples of the latter metre which shared all or most of the common characteristics of ballad metre. There is, in fact, one *rócán* pattern which is syllabically identical to the examples of ballad metre cited above, pattern 6.1(f). Unfortunately for ó Donnchadha's case, however, this pattern is attested by only two examples in our sample, hardly a convincing demonstration of its popularity. Where the impact of ballad metre on Irish versification is most strongly felt is, as we suggested earlier, not in the context of *rócán* or of seven-stress verse, but rather in that of the four-stress duple pattern in which all or most of the feet contain four syllables: there is every chance that the popularity of this pattern was substantially enhanced by the popularity of ballad metre and of the large number of airs which gained currency through their association with that metre.

As to the origins of *rócán* metre, we see no reason to assume that any foreign influences were brought to bear whatsoever. *Rócán* patterns are less to be explained as imitations of a foreign model than as the result of the logical development, within the traditional Irish context, of the basic three-stress phrase into lines of greater length and complexity. The only Irish metrical pattern which can, with any certainty, be said to have been affected by the existence of ballad metre is the four-stress duple pattern 4.1(j); and even in that case the relationship would appear to have been more symbiotic than genealogical.

What, then, are the salient features of *rócán* verse which distinguish it from other types of line in Irish? We have already mentioned the mid-line caesura, which would seem to be essential. This caesura consists of what amounts to a silent foot, although the latter part of this foot normally contains one or more unstressed syllables serving as anacrusis to the second of the two phrases in the line. These two phrases, so clearly separate in accentual terms, are linked ornamentally by means of an *aicill* rhyme involving the last stressed vowel in the first phrase and either the first or, most commonly, the second stressed vowel in the second phrase. This *aicill* rhyme, in addition to the usual cadential assonance, is essential to maintaining the structural integrity of the *rócán* line. Additionally, of course, further ornamentation is possible: it is not unusual, for example, for two stressed vowels to be involved in the line-linking function, giving ornamental patterns like /AAB:ABR/ and /ABC:BCR/. Usually, however, the ornamentation is less systematic, and only those ornamental features essential to the maintenance of structural integrity remain, giving formulae such as /--B:B-R/, /--C:-CR/ and so forth.

In terms of its cadence the *rócán* line is hardly more adventurous than the five-stress line: most of the examples end in a monosyllabic cadence, about ten end in a trisyllable, and there are no examples in which the cadence is disyllabic. All of the examples are characterised by triple rhythm; duple rhythm does not appear to be a possibility with this form, possibly because it could lead to ambiguity at the caesura if there were two potential stresses (one primary and one secondary) in each foot. Finally, in terms of its larger structural context the *rócán* line is most frequently found, as one might expect, as part of a quatrain

structure. Occasionally, however, it may occur in a couplet structure or even--more rarely still--as one constituent of a more complex stanzaic form.

8.1.1 Rócán patterns

- (a) The most popular *rócán* pattern contains mainly trisyllabic feet, with a disyllabic foot immediately preceding the caesura. In most examples the cadence is monosyllabic, although the sample does contain one item in which the cadence is a trisyllable.

6.1 An /lá 'chuaigh an /Chrúbach go /Toraigh
 Níor /chúgail sí /fodar ná /féar,
 'S níor /lig sise /búirthe le /hocras
 Ach /cumhaidh bhí /uirthi 'gabháil /siar.
 Níorbh /fhada a /seal ar an /oileán
 Gur /thriall sí ar/ais go tír /mór.
 Deir /daoine nach /gcoisceann sí an /turas
 Go /nglanaidh sí /barra Ghaoth /Dobhair.²

- (X) Y: (X) Y

6.3 /Lá 'gus mé ag /taisdeal am /aonar
 tré /Cnocáinín /aerach na /Biolarraighe;
 's mar is /duine le /crosaibh an /tsaoghail mé,
 do /theagmhaidh liom /éachta na /turrainní. (ACF:121)

- - C: - C R

- (b) Another very popular pattern differs from the above only in the penultimate foot being disyllabic. This pattern too is principally attested with a monosyllabic cadence, although there is one example in which the cadence is trisyllabic.

6.1 Cad a /dhéanfaimid /feasta gan /adhmaid?
 Tá /deireadh na /gcoillte ar /lár,
 Níl /trácht ar Chill Chais ná a /teaghlach,
 'S ní /cluinfar a /cling go /bráth.
 An /áit úd ina /gcomhnuigheadh an /deigh-bhean
 Fuair /gradam a's /meidhir thar /mhnáibh,
 Bhíodh /iarlaí a' /tarraing thar /tuinn ann,
 'S an /t-Aifreann /doimhinn dá /rádh.³

(X) Y C: Y C R

6.3 /Crá ort, a /Dhoiminic Uí /Dhónaill
 nach /mairg a/riamh a /chonaic thú;
 /Bhí tú i do /shagart Dia /Domhnaigh,
 ar /maidin Dia Luain i do /mhinistir.⁴

- (B) C: (B) (C) R

- (c) This pattern is also quite a popular one, and is attested with a monosyllabic cadence only. The first foot following the caesura is trisyllabic, while all other pre-cadential feet are disyllabic.

6.1 A /Shíle /bhán na /b-peurlaidh
 a /chéad-shearc nár /fhullaing /gruaim
 /D'fhág tú /minntin /buartha,
 a's a'd /dhiaidhsi ní /bheidh mé /buan,
 Muna /d-tigidh /tú dom /fheuchain,
 a's /éulóghadh liom fá /ghleanntaibh /cuain,
 Béidh /cúmhaidh a's /tuirse a'd /dhiaidh orm,
 a's /béidh mé chomh /dubh le /gual.⁵

- - B: B - R

- (d) The following pattern occurs with both monosyllabic and trisyllabic cadence. The monosyllabic type appears to be popular in the province of Ulster; indeed, three of the examples attested in the sample are by the same Donegal poet, Peadar Breathnach. Examples of the trisyllabic type, however, are to be found over a wider area--at least so far as our sample is concerned. The pattern differs from pattern (b) only in that the foot preceding the caesura is monosyllabic rather than disyllabic.

6.1 Bhí /muiltín beag /agam ar /téad
 Agus /leig sí liom /fhéin a /ghloim,
 /D'agair sí /mise go /géar
 Nach /seasóchadh /Éire an /roinn.⁶

A A B: A B R

6.3 /Shiúbhail me-sí /Éire fá /dhó,
 A's /Móta Ghráinne /óig ag /filleadh dhamh;
 /Iongnadh ní /fheacas ba /mhó
 'Na /buachaill na /m-bó gan /gimléatt.⁷

- - C: - C R

- (e) The following pattern differs from pattern (a) only in that the foot preceding the caesura is monosyllabic rather than disyllabic. All of the examples in the sample are of Munster origin, and at least three are performed to variants of the tune *Ar éirinn ní neosfainn cé hí*. It would seem probable in this case, as in others, that the popularity of an air may have been instrumental in widening the currency of a given metre within a locality.

6.1 A /chumplacht ghlan /chaoimh-chrothach /chaoín,
 Ur-/léighionta go /líonmhar a /n-dán;
 Bhúr /n-dúthrachd ag /géar-mholadh /Laoi,
 (Ba /shaothar a /n-inntleacht is /fearr)
 An /lúb-shrothach, /glé-chriostal, /mín,
 Is /féile ar bith /fíor-uisge /cáil;
 Gur /thúirling gach /séan le na /taoibh,
 Do /b'fhéidir fá /rígheacht neimhe /d'fhághail.⁸

√ / √ √ √ / √ √ √ / √ : / λ √ / √ √ √ / √ √ √ / √
 A B C: B C R

- (f) The following pattern is only very thinly attested in the sample--possibly because its predominantly disyllabic feet could, in the absence of long vowels under the stress, seem rhythmically ambiguous.

6.1 Níor /ghéilleas /riamh do /ráidhtibh
 /fileadh, /fáidh nó /draoi,
 go /bhfuair an /Bhulcán /gránna
 /Bhéus /bhreagh mar /mhnaoi;
 Nó go /bhfeaca /Péarla an /bháin-chnis
 le /toil a /cáirde /gaoil,
 gan /rogha ná /malairt /áruis
 i /bhfochair /Sheáin Uí /Dhighe.⁹

√ / √ √ / √ √ / √ √ : / λ (√) / √ √ / √ √ / √
 - - C: - C R

8.1.2 *Subsidiary patterns*

As was true in the case of the five-stress line, the more popular of the *rocán* patterns cited above are to be found not only in systematic use (i.e. occurring in every line of an entire stanza) but also in various combinations with one another and with a number of subsidiary patterns, listed below. The relationship between basic and subsidiary patterns which we described in the case of the five-stress patterns--subsidiary

patterns in general differing in no more than one feature from the basic pattern with which they combine--would appear to be borne out by the evidence of the *rócán* patterns. Certainly, those subsidiary patterns which differ in more than one feature from what seems to be the basic underlying pattern of a stanza are in the minority; what is more, when they do occur they are clearly noticeable. In this respect they differ from the principal type of subsidiary pattern which appears to be accepted by the brain as a sub-set of the basic underlying pattern, and to require no conscious adjustment on the part of the listener.¹⁰

(g) The following pattern combines with pattern (a):

6.1 /Maidin chiuin /cheodhánach /bháistighe
is mé a' /triall ar /chúirt Bhaile /Lí''

/ / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : / λ / / ~ / / ~ ~ / /
- - - - - R

(h), (i) These two patterns are both found in combination with pattern (b), as the following example illustrates. In addition, both patterns also combine with pattern (c).

6.1 A /éire, a /chuman na /gcumhangach,
Fuair /bascadh 'gus /brughadh ó /bhéir, (b)
Do /réab, a /chara, do /ghnúise
'S do /laguigh go /humhal do /scéimh. (h)
Is /dilse fé /dhó thu /liúmsa
'Ná /stór a's 'ná /cumhachta 'n /tsaoghail, (i)
'S ná /ríoghachta na /Rómha s na /Rúise
Mo /thalamh beag /dúthchais /féin.¹² (b)

(h) ~ / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : / λ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / /
(i) ~ / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : / λ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / /
- (Y) C: (Y) C R

(j) The following pattern is also found in combination with pattern (c):

6.1 /mhaifí /leatsa an /t-áilleagán
faoinar /fhás goimh an /éada /uathu. (PML:46)

/ / ~ / / ~ / / ~ ~ : / λ ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / /
A B C: C D R

(k) This pattern occurs in conjunction with pattern (d), both 6.1 and 6.3 types.

6.1 A /Sheáin Uí /Cheallaigh 's tú an /rí
a /chuir orm /fhéin gléas /ceoil³

$$\frac{\psi_1}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_2}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_3}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_4}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_5}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_6}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_7}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_8}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_9}{-} \quad \frac{\psi_{10}}{-}$$

6.3 /Chuas ag /imirt le /mnáibh
is /chuireadar /báire is /fiche orm. (Gunn:40)

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} / \quad / & \cup / \quad / & \cup \quad \cup / \quad / & : / \quad \lambda & \cup / \quad / & \cup \quad \cup / \quad / & \cup / \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cup \\ - & \text{B} & \text{C:} & & \text{B} & \text{C} & \text{R} \end{array}$$

(1) Finally, another pattern which combines with pattern 6.3(d) is the following:

6.3 O! /thainic sean/ghaduidhe 'n dá /lámh
a's / rug sé /uaim go /bradach é. (ACU:50)

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup / \text{ } \backslash & \cup & \cup / \text{ } \backslash & \cup & \cup / \text{ } \backslash & : & / \lambda \cup / \text{ } \backslash \\ - & & - & & & C: & - \\ & & & & & & - \\ & & & & & & R \end{array}$$

8.1.3 Summary of rócán patterns

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) | /3/3/2:/ λ \smile /3/3/1/ | /3/3/2:/ λ \smile /3/3/3/ |
| (b) | /3/3/2:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | /3/3/2:/ λ \smile /3/2/3/ |
| (c) | /2/2/2:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | |
| (d) | /3/3/1:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | /3/3/1:/ λ \smile /3/2/3/ |
| (e) | /3/3/1:/ λ \smile /3/3/1/ | |
| (f) | /2/2/2:/ λ \smile /2/2/1/ | |
| (g) | /3/3/2:/ λ \smile /2/3/1/ | |
| (h) | /2/3/2:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | |
| (i) | /3/2/2:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | |
| (j) | /2/2/3:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | |
| (k) | /2/3/1:/ λ \smile /3/2/1/ | /2/3/1:/ λ \smile /3/2/3/ |
| (l) | | /3/3/1:/ λ \smile /2/2/3/ |

8.2 Crosántacht

So-called *cro'sántacht* or *cro'sántacht/amhrán* metre is one of the few accentual metres to have received significant scholarly attention. In an article in *Éigse* 17 Dr Alan Harrison argues that this metre is derived--

and that none too distantly--from classical *snéadhbhairdne* (8²4²8²4²).¹⁴ In support of this idea he attempts to trace the evolution of the metre from its earliest attestation in the eleventh century, citing examples of *dán díreach* (of which he usefully distinguishes two types for *snéadhbhairdne*), *ógláchas*, what he calls 'loose *snéadhbhairdne*', and finally the *amhrán* type in which strict syllabic count is abandoned. His argument appears to be based upon Bergin's suggestion that 'a combination of *breccad* with the license in riming allowed in *brúilingeacht* will account for the new [accentual] metres, which during the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries, flourished side by side with the old classical metres, and with the downfall of the old order and the closing of the schools finally replaced them' (1937:280). Prof. Carney has already demonstrated the error of calling the accentual metres 'new', and in so doing has called into question this presumption of the priority of syllabic verse in the Irish context. It would, therefore, seem appropriate here to examine some of Harrison's conclusions with regard to this particular metre, which we may for the sake of convenience call *croasántacht*.¹⁵

Starting-point for Harrison's discussion is Peadar ó Doirnin's poem *An Cléireach Bán* which, in his view, has been structurally misrepresented by its present editors, who have tended to treat as one line 'the group of phrases that ends with the main systematic rhyme'--to use Prof. Carney's definition, and the one which is generally assumed here. Harrison, however, maintains that the structure of the verse is better displayed if this six-stress entity is represented as two lines, one long and the other short, thus (1977-8:193-4):

Targaire dhearscnaí do rinneadh le *Créafann
 mhac Fhéilim an fhíona
 mhic Cairbre Chéir mhic Conaill mhic Néill
 mhic Eocha Mhuímheoin

As justification for this proposal he advances the argument that as accentual *croasántacht* metre is directly descended from *snéadhbhairdne*, so it ought to be represented on the printed page in such a way as to remind the reader of that fact.

Whether his arguments on this topic be valid or not, it must be pointed out that Dr Harrison's editorial suggestion does not illuminate the real structure of the above lines as much as it illustrates his historical judgement upon them. For if one wished truly to indicate the structure of the lines on the printed page one would clearly have to represent them as follows:

Targaire dhearscnaí
do rinneadh le *Créafann
 mhac Fhéilim an fhíona
mhic Cairbre Chéir
mhic Conaill mhic Néill
 mhic Eocha Mhuímheoin

One would, in other words, have to acknowledge the phrasal structure of the lines.¹⁶ That it is these two-stress phrases, rather than some longer linear unit, which must be considered the basic structural entities in the *crosántacht* metre is left in no doubt by the nature of the ornamental pattern, which places assonantal markers at the phrase-endings. Clearly, however, such representation of the verse would result in rather inflated printing costs, every quatrain requiring twelve lines of type, and editors are probably well-advised to continue with their present practice which does, at least, have the virtue of treating this six-stress structure as a single linear entity.

This is not to say that accentual *crosántacht* metre and classical *snéadhbhairdne* have nothing to do with one another. Clearly there is a connexion between them, and that connexion is underlined by the fact that there appears to be some sort of generic continuum linking compositions like *An Cléireach Bán* with late classical compositions in what Dr Harrison calls the '*crosántacht* mode', dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. Thematic considerations aside, however, the relationship between *snéadhbhairdne* and accentual *crosántacht* metre would appear to be a complex one, it being by no means certain that we should regard the accentual metre as having come into being as a result of the gradual debasement of the classical one.

Now Tadhg Ó Donnchadha in both of his books draws a useful comparison between *croántacht* and *ochtfhoclach*. Early *ochtfhoclach* forms, like their modern descendents, consist of a series of four short phrases, the last in the series often presenting some ornamental contrast to the preceding three; any of the stanzas in Carney's edition of *Táinig sam* may be cited as an illustration (1971:43-4). As Ó Donnchadha points out, the only difference between *croántacht* and these *ochtfhoclach* forms lies in the number of reduplicated phrases preceding the cadential one: whereas in *ochtfhoclach* there are three such phrases giving the overall linear form 3A+B, in *croántacht* there are only 'dhá dhuilleóg', giving the form 2A+B (1925:90 and 1936:74-5). This structural similarity between *croántacht* and *ochtfhoclach* may, indeed, suggest a possible direction for historical enquiries. W. P. Ker and a number of other writers have pointed out the considerable English and continental European evidence for the 3A+B line-types; and Seán Ó Tuama has quoted the testimony of the French scholar Jeanroy, who places a 2A+B structure among the most frequently used forms encountered in Anglo-Norman poetry: as illustration he cites lines corresponding in every detail to *croántacht* pattern 6.1(n) (Ó Tuama 1960:305).

Scholars have not so far uncovered written evidence for the *croántacht* form from any early source--a circumstance which has, understandably, led them to conclude that the 2A+B structure belongs to the modern period alone. In view, however, of the quite basic phrasal character of this structure and of its resemblance to *ochtfhoclach* form (whose antiquity can be in no doubt) we may perhaps be justified in assuming greater antiquity for *croántacht* than is indicated by written records. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that an accentual form similar to modern *croántacht* (2A+B) was practised in the O. Ir. period, a half-stanza form which consisted of a series of three two-stress phrases the third of which contrasted ornamentally with the first two, and whose ornamentation was echoed in the third phrase of the following half-stanza. Let us further hypothesise that this accentual form eventually inspired, among practitioners of the *nua-chrotha*, a syllabically-regularised stanzaic form, accompanied by ornamental rules similar to those applied to other types of syllabic verse--rules by which the classical poets sought to distance their art from that of the lower grades of poet. The new metre, *snéadhbhairdne*, thus lost its overtly rhythmical character,

whatever may have remained of the phrasal entities from which that character originally derived. At some point in its history *snéadhbhairdne* became strongly associated with a semi-humorous genre of eulogy which became known as *croántacht*, this association largely excluding it from use in other contexts.¹⁷

With the disintegration of Gaelic society and the closing of the poetic schools in the seventeenth century, the practice of classical versification gradually declined. The manuscript records, however, still exercised an influence upon poets in succeeding generations who were tempted to compose satires in the *croántacht* mode. In most cases, however, the metrical requirements of classical *snéadhbhairdne* were beyond their grasp, and gradually but perceptibly they fell back on the accentual metre which, presumably, had been in use among the less exalted members of the poetic *cléir*--the bards, perhaps, to judge from Scottish evidence, or the *croáin* themselves.

A circumstance which may lend credence to such a scenario is the fact that *croántacht* metre does not, in the majority of its attestations in our sample, resemble *snéadhbhairdne* very closely. Dr Harrison chose to make *An Cléireach Bán* the focus of his discussion, possibly because the lines in that poem end in a disyllable and thus seem to reflect the standard *snéadhbhairdne* line-ending. He may not have been aware of the fact that in this respect *An Cléireach Bán* may be rather exceptional: our own sample contains some thirty-two examples of *croántacht* metre, twenty-four of which are monosyllabic at the cadence, and only six of which are disyllabic. It seems extraordinary that if, as is claimed, *croántacht* metre owes its existence to *snéadhbhairdne* in some fashion, the disyllabic character of the usual *snéadhbhairdne* cadence should not prevail in the new metre.

In another respect *An Cléireach Bán* appears to differ substantially from a typical example of *snéadhbhairdne*: it is non-stanzaic. We cannot, of course, be certain to what extent manuscript evidence of syllabic verse reflects its structure in the musical context; Scottish evidence would suggest that there is at least a possibility of stanzaic linking (resulting in a musical structure ab bc cd de ef, etc.) in the context of an air--a structure which one would never suspect from looking at the

stanzas in written form. If, however, one may assume that stanzas of regular length were the norm in the Irish context, and that this convention extended to *snéadhbhairdne*, then we may perhaps wonder at the use of *croántacht* metre to form paragraphs rather than quatrains, as is the case in five of the examples included in our own sample.

The fact that *croántacht* metre is attested by only thirty-odd examples in the present sample may be taken as positive evidence of its history, given that these examples show it to have been in use throughout the country, and in a variety of thematic contexts: our evidence suggests a 'survival' profile rather than an 'innovation' one. It would, however, appear that *croántacht* has latterly been a less popular metre than most of the others examined here, with the exception of the two- and three-stress types. The relative unpopularity of this line is due, I would suggest, to an intrinsic factor, i.e. the tripartite structure of the line. *Croántacht* is what we may call a ternary linear structure, the line being composed of three short phrases of equal length. It is not possible to define the mid-point of a *croántacht* line, and in this respect it differs from all other Irish polyphrasal line-types. There seems, in other words, to be a preference among Irish poets for binary linear structures.

Positive evidence for such a preference may be seen in certain compositions which reveal the *croántacht* line-type to be essentially structurally unstable. The curious narrative poem *Eachtra 'n Aére*, collected in Ring in 1940 by Prof. R. A. Breatnach, appears on the whole to be conceived in 6.3 *croántacht* metre, although at least a third of the lines deviate from the *croántacht* formula (2A+B). Some of these lines contain an extra pre-cadential phrase--a feature which would render them similar in structure to *ochtfhoclach* lines were it not for the fact that no modern eight-stress *ochtfhoclach* pattern that I have been able to discover possesses a trisyllabic cadence:

8.3 Agus 'á /mbeuch sí /bríomhar agus go /mbeuch a /croí leis
ba /mhuar é /híospairt ar /fuaid na /suip' ici--¹⁸

Other deviant lines in the poem add a single foot, rather than a complete phrase, to the *croántacht* pattern, resulting in a seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*-type line:

- 7.3 Chuireamuir /fios ar a' /gcléireach chun sinn a /cheangal dá
 /chéile
 agus /deirim-se /héin go /m'uiris e.¹³

while in still other cases the *croántacht* line is reduced by a single foot, giving a five-stress line with a trisyllabic cadence otherwise unattested in our sample:

- 5.3 /Tháini mé /'níos agus níor /chú' mé /síos
 ó /chuin dí í.¹⁴

Significantly, the unstable character of *croántacht* metre is also demonstrated in some *barántas* verse. Consider the following, from *Barántas an Bhata*:

- 7.2 /Seo an /bata
 thug /Jáson /calma
 ('na /árthach) tar /uisce go /héirinn,
 6.2 gur /leanadar /táinte
 /Danar thar /sáile é
 ar /aigne a /thraochadh. (Bar.:43, ll. 103-8)
- 8.1 Is /é ba /chána
 is ba /bhata /láimhe
 ag /Brian /dána
 ina /láimh /cheart,
 6.2 I /gCath Chluain /Tairbh
 go /dian ag /treascairt
 /flatha agus /laochra. (ll. 133-9)
- 5.2 /Sin e a/nois
 /maitheas an /bhata
 agus a /thréithe. (ll. 167-9)

Or this stanza, from *Barántas Scríofa*:

- 6.2 /Fiche /scilling
 do /thairgeas don /duine acu,
 gan ach /é 'ghabh/áil dom,
 Nó /'thabhairt chun /Dónaill,
 an /fear cacin /córach,
 go /bhfaigheadh /sásamh,
 8.2 /Tríd an /gcailín,
 /bhí san /ngarraí,
 a[g] /buan na /bpataí
 's dá /dtabhairt dá /fádar. (Bar.:58, ll. 32-41)

It may perhaps be assumed that *Eachtra 'n Aere* springs from the same sort of roots as those which gave rise to the *barántas*; and while it is

dangerous to generalise on the basis of so few examples, it is nevertheless tempting to imagine that such compositions, displaying as they do a high degree of metrical flexibility, may offer a clue to earlier practice of the *crosántacht* metre. Such practice would appear not to be subject to the demands of a four-part air--this circumstance being, in my view, to some extent responsible for the preponderance of quatrain structures in the Irish canon. I have never heard of any *barántas* text being set to music; indeed, considering that they are meant to imitate legal warrants it seems far more likely that they would simply have been read aloud or perhaps recited in some theatrical manner.²⁰ Prof. Breatnach does indicate that he heard *Eachtra 'n Aére* in a musical context, although he makes no mention of the structural implications which the singer's air might have had for his text.

8.2.1 *Crosántacht* metre: general features

The foregoing discussion has identified a number of the features of the *crosántacht* line-type. As regards final cadence, the monosyllabic line-ending predominates, although disyllabic and trisyllabic endings are also attested. As far as larger structures are concerned, most of our examples of *crosántacht* are found in the context of quatrain structures although a few, as we have just seen, occur in paragraph forms. The most unusual context for the *crosántacht* line, however, occurs in the poem *Art óg ó Néill agus a Mhuintir* by the Armagh poet Art Mac Cumhaigh (AMC:97). The stanzas of this poem are octets, but what makes them remarkable is that the first seven lines are in *rócán* metre and only the final line takes the form of *crosántacht*. Here is the first verse:

A /Airt /óig Uí /Néill, a /shadharclann is /glaine /cáil,
 /Ursa /chogaidh is /daingne le /béim-neart i /gcríochaibh /Fáil,
 Dá /dtrialadh /Eoghan is /Féilim go /héirinn /ionsair ón
 /Spáinn,
 Ag /gríosú /Chonaill /Chéarnaigh, go /ndéanfadh a/rís ár /ndáil;
 Mar /Chonn na /lann i Maigh /Léana ag /tréaghdadh is ag /cascairt
 /cháich,
 /Amhail /Chú na /n-éacht i /ngléas na /maghaí /báird,
 Le /faobhar /gearraidh /géar-lann ba /thréitheach a /chroí 's a
 /láimh,
 Nó gur /éirigh an /daróg /suas ar /gearradh /buaireamh a /lán.

The first seven lines of this stanza correspond in the main to the *rócán* pattern 6.1(c) with its characteristic mid-line *aicill* rhyme linking the two phrases across the caesura; the last line, however, corresponds to pattern 6.1(m), the most popular of the *croántacht* patterns, characterised by reduplicated ornament in the first two phrases (*daróg:gearradh*) contrasting with different ornamentation in the final phrase of the line. I know of no other attempt to combine the two types of six-stress line, different as they are from one another, and can only think that this composition represents something of a metrical experiment on MacCumhaigh's part.

Rhythmically, most examples of *croántacht* seem to be triple in character, although in patterns containing predominantly disyllabic feet the rhythm may seem to be duple in the absence of long vowels at the ictus. In any event, the sense of unbroken rhythmic continuity is less in this metre than in some others as a result of the line being composed of short two-stress phrases set off, in many cases, by caesuras. These caesuras are, in turn, of the type that we first encountered in connexion with what we termed a 'rhythmically variable' four-stress pattern (§6.3 above): rather than being indicated by silence, as in the case of *rócán* and some other types of verse, the caesura here is indicated by the occurrence, in the foot containing it, of a greater number of syllables than are to be found in the preceding foot. In determining the structure of such phrase-terminal feet one must decide which of these syllables belong truly to the preceding phrase, thereby constituting what we may call the 'phrase-cadence', and which ought to be considered as anacrusis to the following one; often this anacrusis will contain two or even more syllables. The effect of these syllabically longer feet is to create a sense of 'time out' from the rhythm, which then has only one foot in which to reestablish itself before another caesura interrupts the flow once again. Having said this, however, it must be admitted that in a good many cases the number of syllables in the phrase-cadence varies from line to line within a stanza, even while the number of syllables in the phrase-final foot may remain the same from line to line. Determining the basic underlying accentual pattern in such cases becomes a matter of choosing that which appears in a majority of lines in a poem and which therefore seems best to reflect the poet's overall rhythmical intention.

The ornamentation of *croántacht* metre resembles that of other types of line in that ornament is only strictly required at phrase- and line-boundaries. *Aicill* rhyme playing no part in the ornamental scheme of *croántacht*, this requirement is thus fulfilled by the placement of ornament at the phrase- and line-cadences (i.e. on one side of the phrase-boundary only), giving the pattern /-B:-B:-R/. Some poets, however, favour more systematic ornamentation, and a common ornamental pattern is /AB:AB:CR/; a few other poems display the pattern /AB:AB:AR/. More elaborate ornamentation is revealed occasionally in the work of Munster poets--see, for example, the *ceangal* to *An Deirdre dheagh-núis-each* (ND 1:44), which includes a double ornament in the penultimate foot--and also, less successfully, in that of some Ulster poets who may be assumed to be imitating the Munster style (e.g. the stanza cited in illustration of pattern 6.1(o) below).

8.2.2 *Croántacht* patterns

The following patterns are listed consecutively to the *rócán* patterns for the sake of simplifying future reference. Thus patterns 6.1(a)-(l) indicate *rócán* patterns, while 6.1(m)-(r) refer to the *croántacht* type.

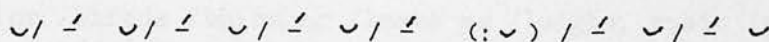
- (m) The most popular of these patterns is disyllabic throughout (anacrusis syllables may vary in number--or be lacking altogether--and they are not counted). The cadence may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or trisyllabic, although the first of these is by far the most common.

6.1 /Cois a' /Ghaorthaidh is /breághth' i /n-Éirinn, a's is
 /áilne ar /abhainn,
 /Mil is /céir bheach /torth' ar /ghéagaibh agus /ubhla ar
 /chrann,
 /Chloisfeadh /aoinne /cantainn /éan ann, a bheadh /míl' ó'n
 /mball,
 /Cnó buidh 's /caora ar /bharáí /géaga ag /fás go
 /Samhain.²¹

/ / ~ / / ~ : ~ / / ~ / / ~ : ~ / / ~ / / /
 - B: - B: - R

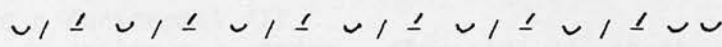
The following two examples illustrate the difficulty of saying anything definite about the syllabic structure of the internal phrase-cadences: in some lines these cadences appear to be disyllabic, but in others the second syllable in the second and fourth foot functions as an anacrusis to the following phrase. In such lines the feeling of caesura is lost, and the rhythmical pulse of the lines flows along with a greater sense of continuity.

- 6.2 Ar /ardchnoc /uaithne /láimh le /cuan na /lándtonn /taoscach
do /tharla in /uaigneas /álainn /uath mé in /áit gan
/daoine;
bhí /bánsruth a/nuas in /ált ar /luas go /farráige ag
/taomadh,
an /dabharchú ag /ruagadh /'ghnáth na /sluaite de /bhláth na
/díleann.²²



A B: A B: A R

- 6.3 A /éigse is /suadha
/Shléibhe /Luachra
/éistig /linne seal,
I /laoithibh /éifeacht
/daoibh go /léifead
/fé mar /scriosadh mé.
/Foghláí /tíre
/tháinig a/raoir
is óm' /thaobh do /goideadh leis
/Hata /fáinneach
/cumtha /ceardach
/péacach /uilleannach. (Bar.:34)



(X) Y: (X) Y: C R

- (n) It is debatable whether or not this pattern ought to be classified separately from pattern (m), the only difference between the two being the more consistent appearance of a monosyllable, as opposed to a disyllable, in the internal phrase-cadences. This has the effect of marking out the second syllable in feet 2 and 4 more clearly as an anacrusis to the succeeding phrase, and creating a fleeting sense of pause between the phrases which one may or may not wish to describe as a caesura. The pattern does, however, appear to have been recognised as a separate one by some poets, as evidenced by their having chosen it as the basis for entire stanzas. In many other cases, of course, it combines comfortably with pattern (m). Seán Ó Tuama has drawn attention to the fact that this pattern was

among the most popular of those practised by Anglo-Norman poets, and quotes the following lines (oblique foot-markers and layout are my own):

Le /meel de /ceel
 En/contre feel
 /Nus vignt /ja
 Par /Gabri/el
 Ke /vynt de /ceel
 En /message /ca (ó Tuama 1960:305)

As practised by Irish poets the line may end either in a monosyllable or in a disyllable:

- 6.1 Níor /bhfada /bhíos ar /leaba am /luighe, nuair /ghlaodhaigh
 a/muich;
 /Marcach /líomhtha i /ndeisceart /oidhche, ar /chaol each
 /ruadh;
 A /Bharraigh /ghroidhe an ad' /chodla /'taoir, nó créad
 /é sin /ort?
 /Preab ad /shuighe go /dtagair /linn a's /féach ár
 /dtoirt.²³

(~) / - ~ / - (: ~) / - ~ / - (: ~) / - ~ / -
 A B: A B: C R

- 6.2 An /speal 's an /claiómh,
 's an /tuairgín /lín,
 i /láimh gach /éinne.
 Is /daoine an /fhill
 's a /n-iompáil /lí
 i /gclár a /n-éadan. (Bar.:42, ll. 43-8)

~ / - ~ / - (:) ~ / - ~ / - (:) ~ / - ~ / - ~
 - B: - B: C R

- (o) The following pattern is also found independently and in combination with (m). It differs from (m) in that the penultimate foot is a trisyllable. In our sample it occurs only with a monosyllabic cadence.

- 6.1 A /thulaigh an /bhláth chrín le'r /chinnnte /barr laoich is
 /éigse ar do /bhruach,
 /Cá bhfuil na /hArdrithe a /mbíodh gach /sárfhile ag
 /déanamh dóibh /duain?
 Dá mbeith /seinm /cláirseach ina /suí i d' /pháláis go
 /dtéidís chun /suain,
 Siúd do /bhunadh /fálta faoin /líne /gallta 's is
 /éiricigh do /shlua.²⁴

∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 - B (c): - B (c): D R

- (p) In this pattern the phrase-cadence is a trisyllable; the line-cadence may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic. As the 6.2 variant demonstrates, this pattern may also be used in combination with pattern (m): the second foot of 1. 2 and the second and fourth feet of line 4 conform to pattern (m) rather than to pattern (p).

6.1 A /Choimín /mhallaithe /guímse /deacair ort is /gráin Mhic
 /Dé,
 Agus /ar an /ngasra /úd tá /ceangailte go /dlúth led
 /thaobh,
 Mar is /sibh a /dhearbhaigh i /láthair /Choisteala ar an
 /triúr fear /séimh
 Is a /chuir na /Connerys /thar na /farraigí go dtí na
 /New South /Wales. (DD:32)

∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ : (∪) / √ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √
 - B: - B: (C) R

6.2 O/chón! a /Dhonncha, mo /mhíle /cogarach, fén /bhfód so
 /sínte;
 /fód an /doichill 'na /luí ar do /cholainn bhig, mo /loma-
 /sceimhle!
 Dá /mbeadh an /codladh so i /gCill na /Dromad ort nó in
 /uaigh san /Iarthar
 mo /bhrón do /bhogfadh, cé gur /mhór mo /dhochar, is ní
 /bheinn id' /dhiaidh air. (OT:260)

∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪
 (A) B: (C) B: - R

- (q) The following pattern is attested in two examples in both of which the cadence is disyllabic. In *An Cléireach Bán* (two lines of which we cited in our discussion of Harrison's study) the phrase-cadence may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic; in the stanza from *Barántas an Bhata* given here it is uniformly disyllabic. The sense of caesura is retained by virtue of the fact that feet 2 and 4 contain a long vowel in the first syllable, a circumstance which renders these phrase-cadential feet somewhat longer than the preceding phrase-initial feet in spite of the fact that both feet in the phrase contain three syllables. In the following stanza the forward stress on *cúimsithe* (1. 10) is justified by a variant manuscript reading *sheasbh cúmsíogtha* (Bar.:214):

- 6.2 Ba /thaca i mbun /gleoigh é,
 chum /seasamh re /fórsa,
 ar /mhachaire an /éirligh.
 Dob é a /ghunna is a /chlaíomh é
 a /chapall is a /chaoire,
 a /thalamh 's a /thréada.
 Tráth gur /treascradh na /mílte
 /flatha nár /chinnte
 i /gcathaibh na /Trae leis;
 Do /sheasaimh cuim/sithe,
 's dá /dheascaibh gur /cloíodh iad
 /maithibh na /Gréige.²⁵

~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ : ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~
 A Y: A Y: A R

- (r) This pattern, attested by a single example, has a monosyllabic initial foot in each of the first two phrases. Prof. ó Buachalla points out that *ceatha* (l. 2) should be pronounced with a long /a:/ assonance (ND 2:94), the long vowel presumably compensating for loss of the second syllable; by the same token one should probably assume the pronunciation *cá'il* for *cá bhfuil* in l. 4.

- 6.1 Bheir mo /Cháit /bhéilbhinn ar /mhnáibh /éireanna /dubhú is
 /gnáth
 leis an /lán/éasca ar na /ceatha /réaltain san /fhoirmaimint
 /ard,
 is ó /tá a /héagosc mar /bhláth /Phoebus ar /gcruthú don
 /lá,
 /cá bhfuil /aon fhear i /gclár /Fhéilim nach /dtabharfadh
 dhi /grá? (ND 2:34)

~ / / / ~ : ~ / / / ~ : ~ / / ~ ~ / / ~
 A B: A B: C R

8.2.3 Subsidiary patterns

Basic *crosántacht* patterns which are frequently found in combination with one another have been indicated above. There are, in addition, a number of other patterns which one encounters in the course of examining this poetry. The variety is perhaps made even more bewildering by the wide variability possible at caesuras, some idea of which may have been given above. Because the number of items illustrative of *crosántacht* is small overall, and because it was felt that to enlarge this number artificially might be to misrepresent the importance of this line-type in

the context of Irish accentual verse, there is not really sufficient evidence upon which to base any valid conclusions about which subsidiary patterns would be widely-recognised 'alternates' for a given basic pattern, and which might be simply *ad hoc* improvisations. It can be said, however, that alterations to a basic pattern appear to be made principally at the beginnings and ends of phrases (i.e. in the cadence to one phrase and the anacrusis to the next); the syllabic structure of the first complete foot of the phrase is interfered with as little as possible, in order not to destroy the rhythmical integrity of the verse.

8.2.4 Summary of *crosántacht* patterns

In the following summary all of the *crosántacht* patterns examined are represented as containing a caesura between each pair of two-stress phrases. In practice, as we have seen, the sense of caesura may be blurred or even extinguished by line-to-line variation in the placement of the phrase-boundary, or by the use of short as opposed to long vowels under stress in phrase-cadential feet; in such cases the definition of phrase-boundaries depends upon ornamental rather than upon accentual features. It is nevertheless felt that some indication of such boundaries may be useful in this summary, in view of the fact that some *crosántacht* patterns appear to embody greater syllabic uniformity from foot to foot than is generally the case with the non-reduplicative line-types we have previously been examining; this is true particularly in the cases of patterns (n) and (q) below, as well as in patterns (m) and (o) whenever a non-initial phrase-anacrusis may be absent.

(m)	/2/2:~ /2/2:~ /2/1/	/2/2:~ /2/2:~ /2/2/	2/2:~ /2/2:~ /2/3
(n)	/2/1:~ /2/1:~ /2/1/	/2/1:~ /2/1:~ /2/2/	
(o)	/2/2:~ /2/2:~ /3/1/		
(p)	/2/3:~ /2/3:~ /2/1/	/2/3:~ /2/3:~ /2/2/	
(q)		/3/2:~ /3/2:~ /3/2/	
(r)	/1/2:~ /1/2:~ /3/1/		

1. But see *Suirghe an Réice Fhallsa* (DCCU:240), in which some lines appear to contain six audible stresses (e.g. ll. 1-2 in v. 1) while others may be interpreted as containing seven (ll. 3-4 in same stanza).
2. *An Chrúbach i dToraigh* (CT:71). Other examples: *Caoineadh Eibhlínne* (DCCU:306); *Cuirim sonas agus séan ar do bhuaillidh* (DCCU:94, v. 2 ff.); *An Dubh Dílis* (ACU:96); *Ceo Draoidheachta* (FF:34); *Cailín Deas Crúite na mBó* (ACF:210, also different text with same title in ACF:70); *Aingir Gheas Chrúiti na Mó* (Free.:176); "*Táim i n-Arréars*" (AG:53); *An Chríonach* (ACG:115); *Cúirt Bhaile an Mhuighe* (ACG:119); *Cuan Choilinn* (ACG:126); *Agallamh idir beirt fhile* (DTA:38); *Amhrán na Mine* (AMS:23); *Mainistir Bhaile Chláir* (AMS:50, v. 2 ff.); *Bímís ag ól* (AMS:147); *Páidín ó Catháin* (FC:56); *Brón ar an t-Sneachda* (Iorr.:225); *Droichead na Tuair* (LD:no. 48); *Amhrán Thomáis Bhaile Mhichíl* (Gunn:22); *Aonach na Gribe* (CCU:123); *Do Mháire Bhreathnach* (DO:75); *A Ghallery bhraidaigh na stuaice* (Gunn:7); *An Bhlath-Bhruinnioll* (PPM:82).
3. *Cill Chais* (FF:85). Other examples: *Malaidh 'n tSléibh' Báin* (DCCU:136); *Thíos in Inis Bó Báine* (CO:129); *Réalt ins an bPobul* (CO:19); *An Gauin Geal Bán* (Free.:246); *Sínidh go deas mé i gcómhnair* (DCCU:242); *Máire* (ACG:152); *Báb na gCraobh* (LD:no. 42).
4. *Doiminic ó Dónaill* (CCU:15). This stanza appears to lack the customary *aicill* rhyme, although the majority of lines in the other stanzas possess it. A Connemara singer would of course create an *aicill* rhyme between *Domhnaigh* and *Luain*, in both of which a long /u:/ vowel would fall under the stress. The song is sung in Connemara, although the surname of the subject of the song would incline one to belief in its ultimate Ulster origin. The refrain of this song also appears in the song *Móta Ghráinne óig* (IM 1:194).
5. *Síle Bheag Ní Choindealbhaín* (IPS:98). Other examples: *'gCluin tú mise 'éin bhig?* (DCCU:84); *Mo shlán le dúthracht d'Éirinn* (ACF:78); *Cailíní Sheáin Uí Chuileannáin* (DD:92, v. 2); *Do Phádraig ó Luain* (ND 2:64); *Cáit Ní Dhuibhir* (ND 3:4); *Is móidím feasta* (PML:50); *Art óg ó Néill agus a Mhuintir* (AMC:97; but see also §8.2.1 below); *Fastuighim an Mhangaire Shugaig* (PPM:86).
6. *An Muiltín* (DCCU:316).
7. *Móta Ghráinne óig* (IM 1:194). Other examples: *Leir-ruathar Whig-giona* (PPM:76); *Mal Bhán Ní Chuilleannáin* (CCU:66); *Éshtig go nínshad mo shcéal* (Free.:235).
8. *An Abhainn Laoi* (PPM:266). Other examples: *Binn Lisín Aerach an Bhrógha* (ACF:114); *Ar Éirinn ní neosfainn cé hí* (DD:49); *Stuairín na mbachall mbreá réidh* (OT:278); *Toireadh ar bhas Sheaghain Chlaraich* (IM 2:252).
9. *Seán ó Dighe* (FF:112). Another example: *Tomás Mhac Filibín* (ACG:111), in which the pattern appears in the context of a limerick-type stanza-form.

10. The same principle applies, of course, to basic patterns when these are found in combination with one another. Among the most commonly-encountered of these combinations are the following:

Patterns (a) and (b): see *Eóghan Cóir* (ACF:124); *Sláinte Ríogh Philip* (DCCU:19).

Patterns (b) and (d): see *Litir Shíochánta* (ND 2:66); *An tUan Brocach* (DCCU:318); *Buaidhreadh an Phósta* (CT:38); *An Spád* (DCCU:445).

Patterns (c) and (f): see *Is mór an t-ughdar náire* (CO:140); *Nach ait an Mac é an Saoghal* (CO:136); *Séamas Mhac Ghiolla Dhé* (ACG:29, v. 2).

11. *Maidin chiuin cheodhánach* (CO:143). Another example: *Stáid an fhir fholaimh* (FC:72, ll. 959-60).
12. *Mo thalamh beag dúthchais féin* (ACF:126). See also *Bríghid Ní Cheallaigh* (DD:98, vv. 2-4). For pattern (h) see *Nuair a théidhim amach un a' tsléibhe* (DCCU:62) and *Láirín Cheannan an Phaoraigh* (DD:68); for pattern (i) see *Bliadhain 'sa taca so phós mé* (ACF:152). For pattern (h) in context of basic pattern (c) see following item and also *Bean Dubh an Ghleanna* (IPS:46, l. 2) and *Iníon thais na mbánchíoch* (PML:46, l. 3). For pattern (i) in context of (c) see *Mallacht Ríogh na hAoine* (DCCU:82) and *Bláth na nUbhall* (DCCU:104).
13. *Amhrán an Trumpa* (DCCU:319). Other examples: *Amhrán Pheadair Bhreathnaigh* (CCU:65); *Caoineadh Uí Cheallaigh* (Raf.:75); *Aisling do chonnairc mé 'réir* (DCCU:232).
14. 'Snéadhbhairdne', *Éigse* 17:181-96. Although he does not acknowledge it, Harrison would appear to be building on Tadhg ó Donnchadha's suggestion that *croisantacht* represents 'aithris ar mhéidreachtaí ársaídh' (1925:90), i.e. *snéadhbhairdne*. However he ignores ó Donnchadha's appreciation of the metre's ternary structure and its resemblance to *ochtfhoclach*, features for which any successful study of the metre's history must surely account.
15. Thereby differentiating it from *snéadhbhairdne*, the classical syllabic metre. Functionally speaking, the term *croisantacht* indicates a genre of semi-humorous composition, often a mock-eulogy, in which the passages of verse are frequently interspersed with anecdotal prose passages. The term should not, therefore, strictly be used to define the metre alone; but as it was undeniably the case that the metre became strongly identified with the genre, so it was perhaps inevitable that the name given to the genre should come to be used also to signify the type of metre in which such poems were composed. Confusion may potentially arise, of course, where this *croisantacht* metre is used in the context of a poem which is not generically a *croisantacht*--the majority of our examples here. Suffice it to say that the term *croisantacht* is used in these pages to indicate a metrical type only; the study of the *croisantacht* genre has already been successfully undertaken by Dr Harrison in another work, *An Chrosantacht* (Dublin, 1979).

16. This method of printing the stanza has, indeed, been adopted by Prof. ó Fiannachta in his work on the *barántas*. Interestingly in this connexion both Dr Harrison (1977-8:185) and Prof. Gerard Murphy (1961:12-3) cite examples of the syllabic metre *dechnadh gcumaisc*, in which the position of octosyllabic and quadrisyllabic lines in the stanza is the reverse, or the partial reverse, of their position in *snéadhbhairdne*. It is perhaps significant that in all of their examples a case could be made that the alteration was the result of syntactic exigencies--in other words, phrasing.
17. Dr Harrison cites Eleanor Knott on this point; see *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall ó Huiginn I* (Dublin, 1922), lxxxviii. Incidentally it seems also to have been possible to compose a *crosántacht* without using *crosántacht* metre at all, as in the case of *Seachrán Chearbhaill*; see Ch. 7, pattern 5.1(n) and n. 1.
18. Breat.:240.
19. Breat.:237.
20. Evidence for a dramatic reading is perhaps suggested by the first stanza of *Barántas an Hata*, quoted below in illustration of pattern 6.3(m).
21. *Cois an Ghaorthaidh* (CAS 4:3). Other examples: *Róis Bhán* (DCCU:120, vv. 1-6); *An Spealadóir* (Free.:199); *Cois na Brighde* (ACF:182); *Seirbhíseach Seirgthe íogair Srónach Seasc* (OT:116); *An Deirdre dheaghnuíseach* (CL) (ND 1:44); *Moladh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta* (CL) (PML:12); *Maidean Drúchta le hais na Siúrach* (EOS:43); *An Dá Sheán* (CL) (POD:33); *Róis Nic an Bhaird* (POD:53); *Art óg ó Néill agus a Mhuintir* (AMC:97); *Cait Ní Neill* (PPM:206).
22. *Parrthas Nua* (ND 2:26). Other examples: *A Chreagáin Uaibhrigh* (DCCU:28); *Barántas Scríofa* (Bar.:57).
23. *An Caol Each Dubh* (ACF:202). Other examples: *An Clár Bog Déil* (Free.:194); *An Seabhac Siubhail* (PPM:230); *Do Thadhg ó Faoláin* (PH:17); *Caitlín Ní Uallacháin* (ACF:104).
24. *Agallamh an Bhaird agus na Teamhrach* (CCU:6). Other examples: *Do'n Athair Séamas ó Dubhthaigh* (CL) (DCCU:355); *An Chaoín-Róis* (ACG:3); *Tá ábhar gáire agam* (CL) (AMB:44); *Créacht do dháil mé* (CL, v. 1) (DOB:48). In the last of these examples the poet allows only two syllables in the feet containing the caesuras. Sometimes both syllables belong to the phrase-cadence, and other times one syllable functions as an anacrusis to the next phrase.
25. *Barántas an Bhata* (Bar.:42, ll. 66-78); see also *An Cléireach Bán* (ND 2:31).

SEVEN-STRESS LINE-TYPES

9.0 Lines containing seven stressed syllables fall into one or the other of two categories. By far the larger of these consists of what we may call '*ochtfhoclach*-type' verse, the lines being divisible into three or four phrases and embodying an ornamental scheme identical to or clearly based upon that of *ochtfhoclach* (3A+B).¹ The first two (often the first three) two-stress phrases in such lines are both accentually and ornamentally identical, with the result that--as was true in the case of *croántacht* verse--the linear structure of the verse is characterised by the steady occurrence of a reduplicated pattern 'A' contrasting with an accentually and ornamentally differentiated feature 'B' occurring at the line-cadence. The second category consists of what we may loosely class as '*non-ochtfhoclach*' verse, organised on a binary rather than a reduplicative principle. As in the case of *ochtfhoclach* verse the linear structure of *non-ochtfhoclach* patterns is generally reinforced by the ornamental schema. In what follows, however, classification of patterns has been based upon accentual conformation only; for although ornamental features normally reinforce accentual patterns, the sample does contain examples in which the ornamental and accentual schemes appear to be somewhat at odds (see, for example, Tadhg Gaelach's variant of pattern 7.2(f) cited below).

9.1 *Ochtfhoclach*-type verse

Whatever the ultimate origins of the various seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* verse-types--and, as we had occasion to see earlier, the question of such origins has excited no little controversy among scholars--there can be no doubt that they represent a venerable strand in Irish verse tradition. The types for which historical evidence has so far been put forward are those based upon a simple alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables (see patterns (a), and (b) below). The possible origins of type 7.3(3A+B) have been considered above (§5.3). Type 7.2(3A+B), a great deal more popular in the modern period, has on the one hand been linked with certain syllabic types, notably *dechnad mór* and

anair t[h]rebraid (Murphy 1961:30, 73), whilst on the other hand it has been pointed out that a strikingly similar form is attested in medieval French poetry (ó Tuama 1960:311-2). Whatever the significance of the latter evidence, we would argue that the resemblance between type 7.2(3A+B) and certain classical metres need not be taken as indicating a classical origin for the accentual form, but may instead reflect the adoption into the bardic canon of a vernacular metre which even at an early date may have represented an irrepressibly popular form.

Most of the patterns described below are attested with a disyllabic cadence; indeed, of nearly two hundred seven-stress items in the sample some 160 may be described as corresponding to type 7.2(3A+B). Type 7.3(3A+B) is more meagrely attested, and examples of type 7.1(3A+B) are quite rare. Rhythm is commonly triple, although three patterns illustrative of duple rhythm are attested in our sample. Phrase-boundaries are marked by caesuras and/or reduplicative ornament, and the first two phrases of any *ochtfhoclach*-type linear pattern are normally both structurally and ornamentally identical. The latter part of the line may be interpreted in either of two ways. On the one hand a further two-stress phrase (identical to the first two) may be followed by a single cadential foot. In this case the ornamental scheme is invariably that of *ochtfhoclach*, each of the three two-stress phrases embodying the same ornamental scheme, in contrast with a different feature at the line-end. On the other hand--and in keeping with the phrasal character of Irish verse generally--the last three feet of the line may be interpreted as a single three-stress phrase, with no caesura before the cadential foot. In this case the ornamental scheme may either be that of *ochtfhoclach*, the final reduplicative 'A' ornament occurring in the same phrase as the contrasting one 'B' and abandoning its demarcative function, or else the scheme may more nearly reflect the actual accentual structure of the verse by dispensing with the third 'A' ornament altogether, giving an ornamental form which might be more accurately described using the formula (2A+B) rather than (3A+B).

The most common stanzaic context for seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*-type verse is the quatrain, although couplets are not infrequent, and this line-type is also occasionally found combining with others to form complex stanzaic structures.

9.1.1 Ochtfhoclach-type patterns

- (a) In the following pattern each of the first two phrases normally consists, in syntactical terms, of a disyllabic foot followed by a monosyllable, the additional syllable/s in feet two and four constituting an anacrusis to the following phrase. In rhythmical terms the line is characterised by disyllabic movement throughout, with the result that there are no regular caesuras. Phrase-boundaries are marked by ornamentation, and in some cases this phrase-cadential ornament is repeated in the penultimate foot, giving a four-part ornamental scheme overall. The pattern is a very popular one, and is attested with monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic cadence. Seán ó Tuama has cited some examples of French and English verse which appear to correspond to the 7.1 version of this metre (I have supplied oblique foot-markers and altered layout of the lines):

Por /cui plus /traí
 /peine et es/maí
 que /dire /ne por/roie
 et /bien le /sai
 que /je mor/rai
 s'e/le ne /mi ra/voie (1960:306)

Vou/lant jou/ir
 a /son plai/sir
 et /avoir /l'acco/lée
 il /descen/dit
 /en un /nuict
 a/val le /chemi/née (1960:306)

Thys /goostly /case
 dooth /me em/brace
 With/out dys/pyte or /moke;
 With /my der/lying
 lul/lay to /sing
 and /louely /hym to /roke (1960:306-7)

A representative Irish example of this pattern is the following, from Raftery's song *Peigín an Chúil Bháin* or *Peigí Mistéal*:

7.1 Is /míne a /cneas ná /clumhach mín /geal is ná /cubhar na
 /tuinne ar /tráigh,
 An /chraoibhín /gheal nár /chríon is nár /mheath go
 /dtígeann /uirthi /bláth;
 Go /dtéighe mé i /bhfeart tá /m'intinn /leat, a /Pheigí, a
 /mhíle /grádh,
 Mo /léan is mo /chreach gan /mé is tú /seal ar /chóstaí
 /Mheiri/ceá./²

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 (A) B: (A) B: - - R

The 7.2 version of this pattern is the one most nearly corresponding to the requirements of the syllabic metre *dechnad mór* (8²6²8²6²); at the same time it is also attested in medieval French with the full 3A+B ornamental schema:

/tout per a/mor
 et /par /doucor
 et /par sa/vor
 de /taster
 Les/sa le /plor
 /et do/lor
 et /du pas/tor
 le /parler (ó Tuama 1960:311-2)

- 7.2 Ag /bruach Dhún /Réimhe, ar /uaigheas /lae,
 ba /snuamhar /géagaibh /bláithgheal;
 is é /chualas /géimneach /chuntaí /éireann,
 is /fuaime sa /spéir in /airde;
 bhí na /dúilibh /tséimh is a /gcúl le /chéile,
 agus /gnúis na /gréine /báite,
 is bhí /slua na /n-éan ag /fuagra /scéil
 le /gruaim gur /éag na /cágaibh.³

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A B: A B: A B R

- 7.3 Dá /mbéinn-se /críonna, 's ní /rabh fa/raor,
 /bhéinn sa' /tír 'na /rugadh mé;
 Bhéadh /cáirde ag /caoi mo /bháis go /fíor
 agus /gártha /cacinte ag mo /bhunadh 'lig.
 An /mháithrin /mhín a /thug dam a' /chíoch
 is /mé 'mo /naoidhín, 's a /d'oiligh mé--
 Tá an /bás go /fíor i /gcomhair mo /chroidhe,
 is ag /Eoghan ó /Frighil ní /shínfear mé.⁴

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 - B: - B: - B R

- (b) The following pattern is nearly identical to (a), the main difference being the presence of a clearly-indicated caesura between feet 6 and 7. Only one example illustrative of this pattern is attested in the sample, that example having a trisyllabic cadence. The earlier example *Fégaib uaib* would, however, suggest that the pattern may at one time have been popular with a disyllabic cadence as well.

7.3 /Créad an /chúis, a /mhaordha /bhúghach,
 fár /thréigis /crú /Banbha,
 Is /méad na /dtnúth tug /éibhear /fionn
 dod /chaomhna ar /drong /danardha
 Do /thraoch le /glonn/ géar a /lúith
 /saormhac /clúmhail /Chearmada,
 Cé /féigin /dúinn bheith /faon go /dubhach
 ag /éad read /chúl /bachallach. (DOB:68)

() / /) / / (:) () / /) / / (:) () / /) / / : / /)
 A B: A B: A B: R

- (c) In the following pattern the phrase-endings are syntactically disyllabic rather than monosyllabic. Thus, taking into account the anacrusis to the succeeding phrase, phrase-cadential feet are syllabically longer than phrase-initial ones--a fact which results in a clear feeling of caesura at the phrase-boundaries. There are commonly three such caesuras in the line, including one between the sixth and seventh feet. The pattern is attested with disyllabic cadence only. A rhythmical peculiarity of this pattern is that while examples employing a stressed long vowel at the beginning of a phrase and a stressed short one at the phrase-cadence have a triple rhythmical character, other examples in which this situation is reversed are rhythmically ambiguous. An example of each type is given here.

7.2 Tá /báb dheas /gheanamhail 'san /áit nach /bhfuilim
 is /áille /maise is /féachaint,
 Agus /grádh go /dtug dí thar /mhnáibh na /cruinne
 is go /bráth ní /thig liom a /séanadh.⁵

) / /) / / :) / /) / / :) / /) / / :) / /
 A B: A B: A B: R

7.2 Tá /brainse /féidhmiúil /ceansa /céillí
 ag /taisteal éireann an /uair seo,
 Ag /brosnú /léighinn is a /cosnamh /céime
 is ag /dealú /éigsí ó /thuataí,
 ó /Leannáin /réimiúil de /threibh na /cléire
 bhí i /bhFeadh na /féile mar /uachtarán
 Gur /bhuaill an /t-éag ar an /aicme /chéanna
 a /d'fhág na /cáadtha faoi /ghruaimcheas.⁶

- (d) This pattern resembles pattern (c) in most respects, the only difference being that it lacks the pre-cadential caesura and thus in accentual terms contains three phrases rather than four. The pattern is attested in three examples, all with disyllabic cadence:

7.2 Dá ma /lium le /cóireav a /wil de /wólacht
 ó /Chorcuig /wór go /Cléiri,
 /B'eár lium/ óig-vean chun /veh á /póga
 Ná /còron /óir 's a /méid shin;
 Mar /táim teyng /breóiti, 's níl /suím i /ngnó agùm,
 Agus /cola /sóil ní /éudaim;
 Fé /neara /ghô-sa gach /dúesh is /cóir cheart
 A /ngeaulhad /fós don /réilhing.⁷

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup : \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup : \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup$
 - B: - B: - B R

- (e) The following pattern consists of four phrases, each set off from its neighbours by a caesura. In each of the first three phrases the first foot contains three syllables, while the phrase-cadence is a monosyllable. The pattern is a very popular one, and is attested with both disyllabic and trisyllabic endings.

7.2 A /bhruinneall gan /smúid le'r /leig mé mo /rún,
 nach /dtuigeann tú 'n /chúis a /bhuaidhir mé
 Gur /tusa mo /rún dá /gcreidtheá sin /uaim,
 's go /siubhailfinn gan /chumhaidh an /saoghal leat.
 Go /Cúige [na]l Mumhan 's go /Conndae an /Dúin,
 is go /Corcaigh na /gCuan dá /bhféadfainn;
 Is a /chuisle 's a /rún char /thuirseach mo /shiubhal
 dá /bhfeicfinn i /dtús gach /lae thú.⁸

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup$
 A B: A B: A B: R

7.3 A /theachtaire /théid go /fearann dhúiche' /éile,
 /aithris do /scéal gan /mhearbhall:
 go bhfuil /ainnir dá /bhfréimh is /carthanai /méin,
 dá /bhfacthas ar /aghaidh na /talmhan;
 le /haigne, le /céill níl /comórtas /léi
 ó /Chlochar do /Droichead na /Carraige,
 is gan a /lochtaibh fán /ghréin ach ar /ghoin sí den /éag
 de /ghaiscíbh na /mbéimeann /fearmhail.⁹

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup / \text{ / } : \cup / \text{ / } \cup \cup$
 A B: A B: A B: R

- (f) The only difference between patterns (e) and (f) is that in the case of the latter the penultimate foot is a monosyllable. The two patterns are frequently to be found in combination.

7.2 Bhí /Fiachra is /Níall is /Lughaidh mhac /Céin
 go /súgach i /riaghail /Thailltean,
 /Fionn, rí na /bhFiann 's a /chompain gan /chian,
 's /Conchubhair, an /tréan-/Ultach;
 I Saltair /Theamhrach atá an /sgéal le /h-aimsir na
 /mbliadhan
 go bhfuil /dream do shíol /mBriain /cinnte ann,
 Ach ar /chuimhniughadh na /bhfial is lag /tinn mé 'na
 /ndiaigh,
 mar /ghlaim chon 's an /fiadh /caillte.¹⁰

~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : / ~ ~
 - B: - B: - B: R

An interesting use of this accentual pattern is illustrated in the following example by Tadhg Gaelach ó Súilleabháin. Note that while the accentual structure is that of pattern (f)--a structure clearly suited to the reduplicative style of ornament illustrated above--the poet has here chosen a binary ornamental schema in which the first four feet of the line are linked to the last three by means of double *aicill* rhyme:

7.2 /Admhaím /féin don /saol gur phea/caíos,
 agus /d'aonmhac geal/chíoch /Mháire;
 /Sealad de mo /shaol le /claonaíocht, star/aíocht,
 is ag /réabadh cheart-/dlí an /Phápa.
 /Monabar /béil, gan /spéis in aith/rí,
 agus mo /dhéirc ní al/taim /sármhaith;
 Ach ag /magadh agus ag /scléip faoi /shéideadh an Pháid/rín
 /naofa an /aingil /pháirtigh.¹¹

~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : / ~ ~
 A B: B c D: B c D R

Pattern (f) is also attested with a trisyllabic cadence:

7.3 A Mhic /Mhuire na /ngras do /cuireag chum /bais,
 is /d'fhuiling an /phais /pheanuideach;
 Do /cheanuig síol /Adhamh le /h-allus do /chnamh,
 /fola 'gus /cneadh /dearga:
 /Freagair me a /ghradh--beir /m'anam a d-trath--
 go /Parrathas /lan-/ghradamach;
 Ag /caitheamh an t-so/lais /fhada-ghil /bhreagha,
 'dir /apstail is /ard-/aingeallaibh.¹²

~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ : / ~ ~
 A B: A B: A B: R

- (g) In this pattern the first phrases resemble those in patterns (e) and (f), but the latter end of the line consists of a single three-foot

phrase, the penult and antepenult both being trisyllabic. Only one example is attested; it ends in a disyllable.

- 7.2 Ag /Aindréas /Bán bíodh /Innis Tighe /Máin,
Is a /bhfuil ó Chal/láin go Bun /Raite,
Cúig /mhíle 'na /láimh le /roinnt ar bhocht/áin,
Agus /tuillfidh sé /grásta na /bhflaitheas. (LD: no. 51)

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪
 X B: X B: X B R

- (h) In this pattern, as in (g), the final three-foot phrase is strongly triple in character. In contrast to (g)--and also to (e) and (f)--trisyllabic movement also characterises phrase-final feet, the phrase-cadences being in the main disyllabic, with a third syllable functioning as anacrusis to the following phrase. One example of this pattern has been found with a monosyllabic cadence, while a number of others end in a disyllable. The 7.1 attestation occurs in the context of a complex stanzaic structure:

- 7.1 A /ryr is mé /mw'ānar coesh /tuív fleasca 'n /Ghārigh,
Fá /ghíon dili /géagghlas am /luí,
Lem /hāv gur hig /sbérvean gur /b'íving i a /sārghuh
Ná /bingcruit na /néanluihi 's /píb:
Á /cuínliocht ví /cāchghiola /chiés mí 's do /víl,
Ig /suíduiv á /ngéar chuir trí 'm /hāv gheas go /cruing,
Do /víl mé gan /fwéshav le /díogarus don /rélhing,
Gur /b'íving é a /shcéiv is a /gny. (Free.:274)

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 A B: A B: A B R

- 7.2 Dia /Mairt moch ar /maidin do /ghléusas mo /chapall
chun /dul 'n Ghleann /gharbh de'n /chuaird sin.
Ba /ró-ghéarr go /bhfacá an /patrún breágh /fairsig
ag /Cipíní /Aitinn mar /chuala.¹³

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 - B: - B: - B R

- (i) In each of the next three patterns the fact that the first, third and fifth feet are quadrisyllabic characterises the rhythm of the line as duple rather than triple. Pattern (i) contains four phrases, each of the first three ending in a monosyllable; the line-ending is disyllabic. This pattern would also seem to be the one used in an oft-quoted English stanza referring to Ireland:

Gode /Sire, pray ich /l[th]le
 for of /saynte charit/e
 /come ant daunce wyt /me
 in /irlaunde

(ó Tuama 1960:310)

Pattern (i) yields in popularity only to patterns (a) and (e).

7.2 /Molfa mise an /dís go /deimhin anois le /mian,
 A's /aithriseó'd a/ríst a /dtréithre.
 Go raibh /Domhnall óg 'n-a /luighe 'gus /éagcaoin mhór dá
 /dhíth;
 Badh-e an /fear ba deise /caoin a's /béasa.
 Ba /bhreagh a leaca /mín', a /ghruaidhe tanaidh /chaoín,
 A /chuim ar dhath an /aoil 's a /méinn mhaith,
 /Féile mhór a's /gníomh, ó is /é a chleacht sé /riamh;
 A's /tugamaoid do Chríost an /péarla.¹⁴

∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ : ∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ : ∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ : ∪ / ∫ ∪
 - B: - B: - B: R

(j) This pattern differs from (i) in that the phrase-cadences are disyllabic; in all other respects it is identical to (i), although it is nowhere near so widely attested.

7.2 Na /hiasgairí tráth /sheolas as /Gaillimh le teann /fóirse
 ó /Conaill, cidh ba /mhór é a /cáil-se,
 Ní /bheadh sí ag Ceann /Bóirne i n-aghaidh /stoirm agus
 /feóchain,
 Go /bhfeisdighthí Bláth na /hóige istigh i /n-Árainn.
 Tá /draft ag Pádhraic /Seoighe ar /shaorthaibh Críche
 /Fódhla,
 Is ní /comórtas do /mhórán 'san /áit é
 Mar is /é nár chlis a /phóca a/riamh i dteach an /ósta--
 Is /iomdha fear ar /fóghnamh a chraith /lámh leis.¹⁵

∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ ∪ : ∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ ∪ :
 - B: - B:
 ∪ / ∫ ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∫ ∪ : ∪ / ∫ ∪
 - B: R

(k) Finally, in the song *An Crúiscín Lán* we get a glimpse of one more duple pattern. This one resembles pattern (j), except that instead of three caesuras there are only two, the final phrase consisting of a single three-foot phrase. Double ornamentation in phrase-cadential feet is echoed in the penult; but the fact that the final foot is a monosyllable and is preceded by no anacrusis appears to destroy any possibility of a pre-cadential caesura being felt.

7.1 A /éigse Fodla /dlúthaigh, lem /thaobh isteach 'nbúr /
 dtrupaibh,
 A's /éistigh liom go /subhach síoch /sámh,
 Go /léighfead startha /ciúin díbh, a /nGaedhilge bhlasta
 /bhúig bhinn,
 's go /nglaodhfad ar mo /chrúiscín /lán, lán, /lán,
 Agus /ólfaimíd an /chrúiscín /lán.¹⁶

∪ / / ∪ ∪ ∪ / / ∪ : ∪ / / ∪ ∪ ∪ / / ∪ : ∪ /
 A b C d: A b C d:

 / / ∪ ∪ ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A b C d R

9.2 Non-*ochtfhoclach*-type verse

Seven-stress verse conforming to an *ochtfhoclach*-type accentual and ornamental formula is, as we have shown, extremely commonplace. Less so, but nevertheless important as an illustration of the inventiveness of poets, is seven-stress verse which is structurally at variance with the *ochtfhoclach* model. In most such verse the division is, in accentual terms, a binary one: that is to say, there is at most only one caesura, and it falls between the fourth and fifth feet. There is, of course, a second phrase-boundary between the second and third feet, but this is normally indicated only by the presence of an *aicill* rhyme at that point. *Aicill* is usually present on either side of the caesura as well, although it would appear to be lacking in the first of the examples quoted below.

One pattern, pattern (n), departs significantly from the above principles, in that its caesura occurs between the third and fourth feet, rather than between the fourth and fifth. The result is that a silent stress occurs in the middle of the line--a phenomenon otherwise seen only in verse of the *rócán* type.

9.2.1 Non-*ochtfhoclach* patterns

- (1) In this pattern, all feet other than those occurring at the caesura and at the final are normally trisyllabic, although in the 7.1 example an occasional foot at the beginning of a phrase contains only two syllables. The pattern is attested three times in the

present sample, and each time it represents an element in a complex (AABA) stanzaic structure, where 'A' is equivalent to one such seven-stress linear component. In one of our three examples the pattern ends in a monosyllable, while in the other two it ends in a disyllable.

- 7.1 Is i /ndún a chois /coilleadh ag /imeall na /trá
 tá /snua an aoil /úir mar an /rós
 i /ngnúis an /linbh nár /milleadh is is /áille--
 /cúl na /lúb mar an /ór;
 ar /chinneamhain Le/ánder ní /thairnfí /scríob,
 nó ar /Helen an ucht /bhláithghil ler /sárscriosadh an /Traí
 dá /mbeadh fhios ag /cábh go mbeadh mo /ghrá-sa san /tirse
 ina /huillea/gán gan /bhrón. (ND 2:35)

∪ / / (∪) ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / : ∪ / / (∪) ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / /
 A B: B C: D D R

- 7.2 Is /buachaillín /mise do /shiúbhlaigh a /lán,
 Ag cur /tuairisc na /háit' is fearr /ionad;
 I /múineadh i /n-íomchar i /gclúcheart 's i /gcáil
 I /mbéasa i /dtréithe 's i /miotál.
 Ní /héol dam aon /dúthaig nó /dúnbhaile /bhreagh,
 Dá /bhfacas im /shiúbhlthaib ba /shúgaighe le /rádh,
 Níor /luigheas riamh mo /shúil ar aon /dúthaig chomh
 /breagh,
 leis an /áit úd go /nglaodhtar Cill /Mhuir' air.¹⁷

∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / /
 - B: B C: (C) (C) R

- (m) The following pattern is exemplified in the poem *Turas go dTír na n-óg* which Fr Walsh attributes to 'an tAth F. Ua Conaill' (ACF:128). It is a poem absolutely reeking of romanticism; and as the pattern used in it is nowhere else represented in the sample, we may perhaps suspect that it is one of no great age in tradition. In support of this conclusion we may also point to the pattern's duple rhythm--duple rhythm being, as we have seen, a good deal less common than triple in all linear contexts.

- 7.1 Tá /gaoth na tír ag /séideadh, 's tá na /héanlaith ag dul
 chun /suain,
 Tá 'n /dubhar ag dul chun /síneadh ar an /mbán,
 ó /éadan ruadh an /tsléibhe tagann /méidhleachán na /n-uan,
 Agus /fuaim na caise ag /caoineadh ar an /dtráigh;
 Tá /uaigneas ar /m'anam 's is /fada liom an /oidhche,
 Budh /mhian lem' spiorad /gluaiseacht leis an /ngréin
 ó'n /mbuairt seo tá ar /m'aigne is ó /chealag rún an
 /tsaoghail
 Go /tír a bhfaghainnse /fuasgailt ar mo /phéin.

∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ : ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪
 W X: X Y: Y Z R

- (n) The peculiarity of this next pattern, as we hinted earlier, is the fact that the caesura falls not between the fourth and fifth feet in the line, but rather between the third and fourth. The first phrase in the line is thus one of three stresses, a circumstance which conjures up a silent stress at the caesura. Only *rócán* verse embodies a similar feature. The final cadence is monosyllabic, while that at the caesura may be either disyllabic (as in the following example) or trisyllabic. In this stanza, by Tomás Mac Coitir, the ornamentation is quite subtle and variable, particularly in the first phrase; *aicill* rhyme, however, is a consistent feature across the caesura, occurring in the third and either the fourth or fifth feet of the line:

7.1 A /raoir 's mé go /déanach,
 Air /thaobh /cnoic re /h-ais an /Chóibh;
 Do /shuigh mé /seal ag /éisdeacht,
 Le /guith na /n-éan ag /cantuin /ceoil;
 Le m' /thaoibh gur /dhearcas /spéirbhean,
 Ba /shaoimhar, /snuidhte, /snasda, a /snógh;
 'S a /dlaoi-fholt /crathach /péarlach
 Air /fad ag /téacht go /h-alt na /deoigh.
 Ba /gheal a /gné
 Mar /shneachta /sléibh,
 Ba /dheas a /sgéimh,
 a /creat, 's a /clódh,
 'S as /pras do /spreag ar /théadaibh,
 /"Leather a/way with the /Wattle, /O!"¹⁸

∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ : / ∪ ∪ / ∪ (∪) / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪
 - - B: (B) (B) C R

- (o) The preceding stanza is, as we can plainly see, a complex one, constructed on the pattern AABA. The 'B' element is, in fact, a linear structure of the *ochtfhoclach* type, corresponding to pattern 8.1(a). The contrast of the two types of line is clearly intentional. The same cannot, however, be said in the case of the following example, in which the pattern of the first three lines resembles that of 7.2(1) above (with the minor difference that the penultimate foot contains a disyllable rather than a trisyllable), whilst the last line embodies the *ochtfhoclach* pattern 7.2(e). In other stanzas of the same poem the *ochtfhoclach*-type pattern accounts for in-

creasing numbers of lines--almost as if the poet's original intention were subverted by the insinuating character of the reduplicative ornamental feature.

- 7.2 Ar /hallai chois /Finne in /imeall a' /chuain
 Tá an /ainnir thug /buidh ar /áille,
 An /plannda is /gile a thug /binneas ón /chuaich,
 Is tá /deallramh gan /ghruaim sa /stáid-mhnaoi.
 Tá a /dhá dlaoi /dheasa gan /chol ar a' /domhan,
 'S a /gruaidhe mar na /rósaí i /ngáirdín,
 A /malaidh chaol /donn mar /scríofaí le /peann
 'S gur de /fhíor-scoith na /hómra /d'fhás sí. (CT:16)

(11. 1-3)
 ~ / ~ ~ / ~ ~ / ~ ~ : ~ / ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~
 (X) (Y) (Y) Z: (X) Z R

(1. 4)
 ~ / ~ ~ / ~ ~ : ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ : ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ : ~ / ~ ~
 - Y: X Y: X Y: R

9.3 Summary

(1) Ochtfhoclach-type patterns

As was done in the case of the *croisantacht* patterns, the following summary of *ochtfhoclach*-type patterns represents them as containing a caesura between each pair of phrases, even in the case of patterns (a), (b) and (h) where--according to our own rules--a caesura does not actually occur in the accentual schema. This is done because it is felt that some indication of phrase-boundaries may be useful, in light of the fact that the ornamental schema responsible for marking those boundaries in the verse is not specifically included in this shorthand summary.

- (a) /2/1:~2/1:~2/2/1/ /2/1:~2/1:~2/2/2/ /2/1:~2/1:~2/2/3/
 (b) /2/1:~2/1:~2/1:~2/3/
 (c) /2/2:~2/2:~2/2:~2/
 (d) /2/2:~2/2:~2/2/2/
 (e) /3/1:~3/1:~3/1:~2/ /3/1:~3/1:~3/1:~3/
 (f) /3/1:~3/1:~3/1:/2/ /3/1:~3/1:~3/1:/3/
 (g) /3/1:~3/1:~3/3/2/

- (h) /3/2:~3/2:~3/3/1/ /3/2:~3/2:~3/3/2/
- (i) /4/1:~4/1:~4/1:~2
- (j) /4/2:~4/2:~4/2:~2
- (k) /4/2:~4/2:~4/2/1/

(2) Non-octfhoclach patterns

- (l) /3/3/3/1:~3/3/1/ /3/3/3/1:~3/3/2/
- (m) /4/4/4/1:~4/4/1/
- (n) /2/2/2/λ:~2/2/2/1/
- (o) /3/3/3/1:~3/2/2/

1. The division, in some cases, of a seven-stress line into four phrases, and the concurrence, in others, of a four-part ornamental scheme and a three-part accentual pattern, may possibly be viewed as anomalous in the context of our metrical theory. These problems are addressed in §5.3 above, and the same section should be consulted for a discussion of the possible historical antecedents of some seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*-type forms.
2. CO:11. Other examples: *Cogar Mogar* (ACF:20); *Ar maidin moch* (DD:55); *Mo mhíle stór* (AMS:55); *An Aindir Aluin* (IPS:144).
3. *Mairgne fá chaisleán na Glasdromainne* (ND 2:39). Other examples: *Bruingíoll Baile Ath Samnais* (IPS:140); *Inghéan Uí Chearnaigh* (DCCU:127); *Túirne Mháire* (ACF:214); *Mo chreach, a shiúr* (DCCU:73); *A Phlúr na gCuach* (ACF:168); *Lá chois cuain* (DCCU:438); *úr-chnoc Chéin Mhic Cainte* (FF:62); *Mac an Cheannaí* (OT:156); *Coillte Glasa an Triúcha* (OT:280); *Magaidh Laidir* (IM 1:154); *Aonach Bhearna na Gaoithe* (ILM:53); *An Bás* (R agus A:47).
4. *Féidhlimidh óg ó Frighil* (DCCU:379). Other examples: *Art Mac Naois agus an madadh ruadh* (DCCU:272); *Sgéimh na mná* (DCCU:333).
5. *Máire Bhruinneall* (DCCU:440). Other examples: *An Chreach* (DCCU:444); *Inis Dún Rámha* (CT:68); *An samhradh ag filleadh go héirinn* (DD:97); *An Mhódhamhuil Mhaiseach* (AGCC:120); *Nansaidh Ní Dhóláin* (R agus A:45); *Tórramh an Bharaille* (LD:no. 47); *Cois Abha Móire na nDéise* (LD:no. 12).
6. *Do Antaine ó Leannáin* (AMB:37). Another example: *A Rí lér fuasclaíodh* (PML:6).
7. *Bearta Crúa I* (Free.:307). Other examples: *An Sbérvéan Cheaunsa* (Free.:313); *Ceapadh Dánta* (AG:29).
8. *A Phlúr na mBan óg* (DCCU:51, v. 2); an obvious emendation has been made in 1. 3. Other examples: *Gleann Domhain* (DCCU:315); *Malaidh Ghleann Dómhain* (DCCU:308); *Seon Brún* (DCCU:200); *Méala* (DCCU:189); *Dán ar Dhamhsaí an Rísigh* (DCCU:421); *Ar Tharagair Cholmchille* (DCCU:34); *Na Sláintí* (ACF:184); *Ag an mBóithrín Buidhe* (ACF:181); *Mo chreach a's mo chás* (ACF:48); *Sagart na Cúile Báine* (ACG:120); *Cois abhann i ndé* (EOS:45, first half of verse); *A chumainn tar céad* (EOS:105); *Torlach Cóir ó hámaill* (POD:55); *Tagra an dá theampall* (AMC:84); *Bodaigh na hEorna, I* (AMC:102); *An t-Athair Uilliam* (Raf.:43); *Faoi Mhalaigh Shliabh Crúb* (R agus A:13); *A chuman 'sa stór* (CAS 3:4); *Ta saigheada agus cnead ag dubailt am shlad* (IM 1:286); *An Paorach* (DO:76); *Seaghan ó Dómhnaill* (CCU:113).
9. *Ailí Ní Chearbhaill* (ND 2:15). The editor of ND 2 points out that *droichead* should contain the vowel /e:/ and that words like *mhearbhall*, *talmhan*, *fearmhail* should be taken as trisyllabic (ND 2:85). Other examples: *Achmhusán Dhochtúir Cheallacháin* (DCCU:252); *Seán ó Neochalla* (FC:39).
10. *A Thailtín na mBrat* (R agus A:41, v. 5). Other examples: *Tuireadh an Dochtúir Mhic Domhnaill* (DCCU:412); *Do chuala scéal do chéas gach*

- ló mé (CL) (ND 1:34); *Adoramus Te, Christe* (OT:110); *Nansaidh Ní Dhuilleacháin* (AMC:90); *Máire óg na gCraobh* (ACG:134).
11. *Admhaím féin don saol gur pheacaíos* (Gunn:5).
 12. *Aithrighe Sheaghain de Hordha* (ILM:32); absence of long marks reflects editorial practice in ILM. Another example: *An óigbhean gan bhéim* (DCCU:327).
 13. "*An síoda 'tá it bhaillet?*" (ACF:132). Other examples: *Talamh Éireann* (DCCU:342); *Béal-Átha-na-hAibhne* (Raf.:37); *A Fádruig, a stóruig* (Free.:115); *Caismirt an phótaire leis an uisge-beatha* (Raf.:86); "*Cloich Reódh*" (ACF:24); *An Pocaire* (MMS:90); *Leaicaí an Chúil Bháin* (ACG:96); *Realtan Chill-Chainnich* (PPM:90); *Seán Buidhe* (CAS 1:12).
 14. *Inis Géidh* (Iorr.:231). Other examples: *Muirnín na Gruaige Báine II* (DCCU:134); *Nóra ní Chonchubhair Bhán* (CO:117); *Brighid Nic Ghiolla Laeidh* (CO:14); *Donnchadh ó Baoighill* (DCCU:184); *Pádraig 'ac Guidhir* (DCCU:175); *A Nansaí, 'mhíle grádh* (CT:51); *A Mháire Mhilis Bhreágh* (ACF:84); *Amhrán na n-Éireannach* (MMS:82); *Linnseach Bheárnán* (ACG:147); *Is iomdha puins agus fíon* (DTA:41); *Is fada mise anocht* (ND 2:52); *Geaftaí Bhaile Buí* (ND 2:72); *Caoineadh Dhomhnaill óig* (ND 3:20); *Péarla an Bhrollaigh Bháin* (ND 3:47); *Gníomh Creidimh* (FC:63); *Domhnall óg is Micheál ó Bláthmhail* (AGI:42); *Searcrún na dTréan* (POD:57); *Bean na n'or-fholt donn* (PPM:41); *Bean Dubh an Ghleanna* (ACF:22); *Nansaidh Bhreathnach* (Raf.:55).
 15. *An tSail Chuach* (ACG:20). Other examples: *Bidí dheas na bPéarlaí* (ACG:18); *Amhrán an Ghearráinín* (Gunn:10); *Peadar Gléigeal* (CO:91, last verse); *An Ceirbleach* (MMS:39).
 16. *An Crúiscín Lán* (ACF:204). The latter half of the last line of this stanza is reduplicated, appearing first with the same ornamental features as those displayed in the other lines, but containing one additional foot. The second time round the phrase is accentually as it should be, but the ornamental features (A, b) are subtly different.
 17. *Cnocáinín Aerach Cill Mhuire* (LD:no. 67). Another example: *Do hugus grá cléiv ghoet* (Free.:295).
 18. *Leather away with the wattle, O!* (PPM:192). Other examples: *Thíos i dteach a' tórraimh* (ACU:88); *Is truagh gan mise i Sasana* (DG:29). Some lines of *Connlach Ghlas an Fhómhair* (DCCU:80) also appear to be modelled on this pattern, a judgement reinforced by the evidence of the air; see discussion below, §13.2.3.

10.0 As was the case with seven-stress types, lines containing eight or more stressed syllables may be classed either as belonging to the *ocht-fhoclach* type, or as one or another of several non-*ocht-fhoclach* patterns. It is, on the whole, possible to make this distinction on the basis of accentual criteria alone, although in some rhythmically ambiguous cases ornamentation may prove a deciding factor. In verse of the *ocht-fhoclach* type the line is divided into four phrases set off, in most cases, by caesuras, the first three phrases normally being both rhythmically and ornamentally identical. In non-*ocht-fhoclach* verse, on the other hand, there is normally only a single mid-line caesura, although three non-*ocht-fhoclach* patterns require a second caesura to one side or the other of the main division (see patterns (q), (r) and (s) below); and ornamentation for the most part reflects the binary character of these patterns. Non-*ocht-fhoclach* patterns are greatly outnumbered by those of the *ocht-fhoclach* type, the latter constituting one of the largest verse categories in the sample.

10.1 Eight-stress *ocht-fhoclach* verse

Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, writing of *ocht-fhoclach* verse, declares:

Is féidir é lorg siar san litridheacht an fhaid a théighid cair-
tí na litridheachta againn. Filidheacht dúthchasach iseadh é,
bfhéidir, thar aon ghné eile dá bhfuil againn. (1936:50)

Unfortunately, while there is every indication that the structural formula 3A+B identified with *ocht-fhoclach* has been operating in the Irish context for a considerable time, scholars have not so far found it possible to trace the form as far back as, for example, they have traced the seven-stress pattern with trisyllabic cadence which we discussed earlier. The earliest manuscript attestation for an *ocht-fhoclach*-type stanza is the one given in *Mittelirische Verslehren* as an illustration of *ocht-fhoclach bec* (5²5²5²4¹):¹

A meic Uí Gemaí,
 etronn ro memaid;
 is, a meic rebaig,
 a lenaib laic,
 beca do bossa,
 cáela do chossa,
 a barr féoir rossa
 dar cossa cait.

Thurneysen and Murphy agree that *MV III* may be dated to about the year 1060; and we may reasonably assume that the form was practiced for a considerable time before that, in order for it to have become enshrined in the bardic canon. If we further assume, as we have argued previously, that such syllabic forms may represent syllabic regularisations of popular (i.e. rhythmical) metres practiced among poets of the lower grades, we may perhaps push the date of its origin in Ireland back a bit further still. Just how far back we should be justified in going, however, must in the absence of new manuscript evidence remain a matter for conjecture.

A further complicating factor is the possibility that the *ochtfhoclach* forms may not be quite as 'dúthchasach' as ó Donnchadha supposed. W. P. Ker was the first to point out the striking similarities between various *ochtfhoclach* patterns and certain types of English and European verse, concluding that all such forms owed their existence ultimately to medieval Latin verse practice (1912:329). Building on Ker's argument Seán ó Tuama has provided further examples tending towards the same conclusion, and other scholars have referred to this possibility in their work.² The difficulty is that while Latin practice may initially have been syllabic, most later European manifestations are primarily rhythmical in character--that is to say, while they may or may not be syllabically regularised, the regular occurrence of a rhythmical pulse is of primary importance as an organisational device. Irish syllabic verse avoids such regular rhythm, of course; but we have earlier referred to the possibility that this avoidance is just that--a deliberate attempt to eschew the obvious, with the aim of setting the poetry apart from that composed by more common versifiers. This latter sort of Irish verse is, and probably always has been, essentially rhythmical. So while we may eventually be justified in linking the origin of syllabic *ochtfhoclach* *bec* with syllabic Latin hymn poetry, the connexion may not be as straightforward as some have been tempted to assume.

Whatever their origins may eventually prove to have been, it must be true to say that at least some of the *ochtfhoclach* patterns detailed here have been practised for a very long time indeed. The example of *ochtfhoclach bec* which we just quoted has its direct counterpart in modern verse, as is shown by the stanza quoted to illustrate pattern 8.1(b) below. This pattern is, in fact, by far the most popular of all the *ochtfhoclach* patterns, accounting for nearly a third of all the examples of such patterns in the sample. If the fact that a form is widely distributed and vigorous may be taken as an index of its age, then this particular pattern would appear to have had a long history, even in the absence of written evidence proving the fact. By the same token other patterns, while not perhaps enshrined in metrical treatises, may be equally venerable. Patterns 8.1(g) and (i) between them account for another third of the total examples; both are attested in English examples, and pattern 8.1(i) also in a German poem--proving, if anything, that such forms should perhaps be regarded as European, rather than solely or even originally the property of the Irish.

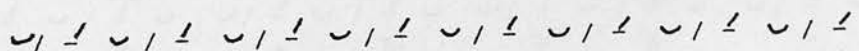
How, then, may we describe the general characteristics of eight-stress *ochtfhoclach* verse as it has been practised in the period covered by our sample? As regards final cadence, the vast majority of the items collected end in a monosyllable; examples ending in a disyllable are numbered in single figures, and there is no example of such a pattern employing a trisyllabic cadence. Rhythm is commonly triple, although--as was true in the case of seven-stress *ochtfhoclach*--there are three duple patterns, two of them among the five most popular patterns in all (see patterns (i) and (j) below). The line contains four phrases of two stresses each; phrase-cadences are marked by means of a reduplicative assonantal ornament and, in the case of most patterns, by a caesura. Finally, most examples of eight-stress *ochtfhoclach* verse are to be found in the context of simple stanzaic structures, quatrains and occasionally couplets. Eight-stress linear units may participate in more complex structures, but these units normally employ patterns of the non-*ochtfhoclach* type.

10.1.1 Eight-stress ochtfhoclach patterns

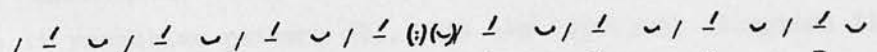
- (a) In the following pattern the initial foot of each phrase is most commonly disyllabic; the phrase-cadences are monosyllabic; and each phrase may be preceded by an anacrusis of one or more syllables. In most examples ornamentation is of the standard *ochtfhoclach* type (3A+B), although in some instances the first 'A' assonance is missing, resulting in a rather less reduplicative 'feel' to the line overall. In other cases reduplicative *ochtfhoclach*-type ornament may operate in some lines of a stanza, while binary-type ornamentation is to be found in others; compare non-*ochtfhoclach* pattern (1) below. Pattern 8.1(a) is one of the few for which a disyllabic cadence is attested. It is also a pattern for which there is evidence in English--or rather, as here, Scots:

Favour is fair
 in luvis lair
 zit friendschip mair
 bene to comend.
 Bot quhair despair
 bene adwersare
 nothing is thair
 bot wofull end.³

- 8.1 Nuair /théighim-se /lá os /cionn mo /láidhe,
 Ní /chuirim aon /tsáthadh mar is /cóir, fai/ríor!
 /Néall ní /fhaghaim 'san /oidhche /thall,
 Is a /Chríost, cé'n /fáth ach mar /gheall ar /mhnaoi.
 'Sé /radharc do /shúl a /spreag mé ar /dtús,
 Is a /bhain mo /dhúil as /caitheamh an /bhídh;
 Bhain /díom mo /shiubhal, mo /shlacht is mo /shnuadh,
 Is a /Rí na /ndúl, nach /bocht an /chaoi!⁴


 - X: - X: - X: - R


- 8.2 /Muidheach gach /aon a /shligh san /t-saoghal,
 /Muidheach an /Chleir 's /muidheach an /Ceannuidhe,
 /Muidheach na /milte a /maoin 'sa /reim,
 'S /muidhim-si an /deirc si /ceird is /fearr i.⁵


 (1. 1) A B: A B: A B: A R
 (1. 2) A B: A B: A B: B R


- (b) This pattern is, as we mentioned a moment ago, the one most similar to the syllabic form *ochtfhoclach* bec. It differs from pattern (a) only in that the phrase-cadences are commonly disyllabic rather than monosyllabic. An extremely popular pattern among Irish poets, W. P. Ker has shown it to have been practised as well not only in England (by the likes of Byron and Swinburne), but also among the German Minnesingers and even in Italy, where it is used in the text of *Don Giovanni* (1912:327-9):

Vedrai, carino,
se sei buonino,
che bel rimedio
ti voglio dar!

- 8.1 'S é /fáth mo /bhuartha ná /faghaim cead /cuarta
'Sa /ngleanntán /uaigheach a /mbionn mo /ghrádh;
Bíonn /mil ar /luachair ann 's /im ar /uachtar
'S go /tús an /fhuaicht 'bhíos na /crainn faoi /bhláth.
Ní'l /gaoth a/dtuaidh ann, ní'l /fearthainn /buan ann;
Tá /calthadh 's /cuan ann ag /luing 's ag /bád;
Tá /tuilleadh /buaidh ann, ní'l /turas na /cuaiche ann,
An té /dhéanfadh /suas le n-a /mhúirnín /bán.⁶


 (X) B: (X) B: (X) B (Z) R

- 8.2 A /Mháirín /Parcer, mo /chúig chéad /slán duit,
Is /tá gean /mór agam /ort le /fada,
Is go /mbeithinn /sásta dá /bhfeicinn /sgáile
Do /chúilín /fháinnigh ag /dul an /bealach.
/Saidhbhreás /Sheoirse /cíd gur /mór é
Agus /faghaim é i n-a /ór bhuidhe / le /sgapadh,
Is go /mb'fhearr liom /pósta le mo /mhíle /stóirín,
Is tá /faithíos /mór orm nach /í bhéidheas /agam.⁷

(1. 4)

 - B: - B: - B: - R

- (c) The only example of the following pattern in our collection is to be found in a *barántas* by Tomás ó Míocháin. It is the only pattern attested exclusively with a disyllabic cadence. In all other respects it resembles pattern (b), with the important exception that the penultimate foot is a monosyllable.

8.2 Dá /bhrí sin /aithchim
 ar /shaoithe /fearainn,
 ar /fhíorscoth /flatha
 agus /naoimh/chléire,
 ón /Laoi go /Gaillimh
 san /líne /ghairid
 's ó /ríghlic-/Chaisil
 go /Splinc /Réithigh,
 /Aíocht gan /easpa,
 gan /maíomh do /thabhairt,
 ó /croí don /taistealach
 /dí/thréadach.
 Le /Críost do /ceapadh
 ina /stíobhard /teagaisc
 gan /díol ach /sealbh
 na /fíor/dhéirce. (Bar.:66)

∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ / √ ∪
 A B: A B: A B: A R

- (d) The following pattern is another for which there is only a single attestation in the sample. The initial foot of each of the first three phrases is a monosyllable; the penultimate foot is a trisyllable; phrase-cadences are as in pattern (b).

8.1 Is ag mo /chaoín /Róis tá na /naoi /n-ór-fhuil,
 I /bhfíor-/chornaibh, agus /frasadh go /féar,
 'S gach /dlaoi /comh dlúth ar /lí an /ómra,
 Ag /síor-/lonnradh agus ag /casadh in a /céibh.
 (DCCU:114)

∪ / √ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ / √ ∪ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 A B: A B: A B: C R

- (e) In this pattern the first foot of every phrase is a trisyllable; phrase-cadences are monosyllabic, although the anacrusis to the following foot normally adds a further syllable to phrase-cadential feet. This pattern is a quite popular one in its own right, but is also frequently found in combination with the even more popular pattern (g).

8.1 An /cailín deas /óg a /bhfuil mé ar a /tóir,
 mo /chreach mhaidne /brón, ní /castar liom /í,
 Tráth /théighim go tigh 'n /óil, an /damhs' nó an /spóirt;
 Ach /leanfad 'sa /ród í ar /uair an mheadhoin-
 /oidhch'.²⁸

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 - B: - B: - B: - R

- (f) This pattern is very thinly attested in complete stanzas, but is frequently enough found in conjunction with other patterns. It differs from pattern (e) only in that the penultimate foot is a disyllable. In the example cited, it is to be noted that in the first verse, given here, the name *Cathal* would appear to be intended as a monosyllable, with a long vowel /a:/; in the other verses, however, rhythmical consistency would seem to require that it be given a disyllabic pronunciation.

8.1 A /chuisse, is a /stór, is a /ghrá na mban /óg,
 is a /chos deas i /mbróg, is /áille /gnaoi;
 Níl /caiptín ó /Bhóinn go /Doire na /seol
 a /scaipfeadh an /t-ór mar /Chathal Mac /Aoidh.⁹

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ : ∪ / √ ∪ / √
 A B: (A) B: A B: C R

- (g) The following pattern is second in popularity only to pattern (b) above. It differs from pattern (e) in that the phrase-cadences are disyllabic, rather than monosyllabic, with the result that all pre-cadential feet in the line contain three syllables. W. P. Ker suggests that trisyllabic metres such as this one may at one time have been musically inspired; certainly this particular line would be admirably suited to the tune of almost any double jig. Ker's discussion of this metre includes two examples of its use in English, of which the following is one--from Tusser's *Points of Good Husbandry* (Ker 1912:330):

Though danger be mickle
 And favor so fickle
 Yet duty doth tickle
 My fancy to write,
 Concerning how pretty
 How fine and how netty
 Good huswife should jetty
 From morning to night.

8.1 Ar /maidean bhog /dhrúchtmhar 'dir /Chaiseal a's /Dúrlas
 Go /triopalach /ciúinmhar gabháil am' /choinne sa /ród,
 Do /labhair sé go /tláth liom den /chomhradh /chaoín
 /grádhmhar,
 'Gus /chuir sé siúd /fáilte 'gus /fiche am /chomhair.¹⁰

∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √ ∪ ∪ / √
 (A) B: (A) B: (A) B: C R

- (h) The next pattern resembles (g) except in having a monosyllabic penult. Monosyllabic non-cadential feet are unusual, as they always result in two fully-stressed syllables falling next to each other in the line. Patterns involving non-cadential monosyllabic feet have, therefore, tended to be chosen or perhaps developed by poets striving after subtle rhythmical and ornamental effects; compare patterns (c) and (d) above, pattern (n) below. In the present case, four examples of the pattern have been noted in the sample, three of them seemingly composed on the same model, probably that of the Jacobite song *Ionarbadh Sheaghain Bhuidhe*, attributed to 'Eibhlín n-í Chaoilte'--though Hardiman is probably correct in assuming this to be 'a *nom-de-guerre*, assumed by some bard to avoid detection' (IM 2:82, 148-9). Here is the first verse:

8.1 /Stadaigh bhur /n-géur-ghul a /ghasraidh /chaomhdha,
 Ná /scarraigh bhur /n-déura ní /gábhaidh /dhaoibh;
 Táid /feara-choin /laochda 'na /Banban /aosda
 Go /bagarthach, /baoghlach ag /gár/daídheacht:
 An /aicme-so an /bheurla tá a /g-ceannus na /h-Eirean,
 Do /cheangail ar /g-Cléir bhochd faoi /árd-/chíos,
 Beidhid /feasda fa /dhaor-bhroid ag /freasdal do
 /ghaodhlaibh,
 'S gan /acmhaing a /saortha ag /Seághan /Buidhe.'''

√ / √ √ / √ √ √ / √ √ √ / √ √ √ / √ √ √ / √ / /
 A B: A B: A B: C R

- (i) The following is the first of three patterns present in the sample which rely upon duple rather than triple rhythm. All phrase-initial feet contain four syllables, and internal phrase-cadences are disyllabic. Ker and ó Tuama have drawn attention to stanzas in English, German and Latin illustrative of this same pattern, for example the following from a fifteenth-century carol text (oblique lines added):

/Ecce quod na/tura
 /Mutat sua /iura
 /Virgo parit /pura
 /Dei fili/um. (ó Tuama 1960:310)

Or this, from a stanza by the German poet Walter von der Vogelweide:

Diu /menschheit muoz ver/derben
 suln /wir den lôn er/werben
 got /wolde dur uns /sterben
 sîn /trôst is ûf ges/part. (Ker 1912:330-32)

This pattern is one of the most popular among Irish poets, if the evidence of our sample is any indication. It is frequently to be found in combination with pattern (j), from which it differs in only one small detail, and it may in fact be sensible to regard patterns (i) and (j) as in a wider sense identical, as it would seem they have been regarded by a great many poets.

Both patterns (i) and (j) have, in addition, obvious affinities with the twelve-stress patterns 12.1(a) and (b), and with the syllabic type known as *ochtfhoclach mór* (6²6²6²5¹). It might be argued that the eight-stress duple types represent some sort of debasement, or at best a reinterpretation, of the twelve-stress types derived ultimately from *ochtfhoclach mór*. Given the presence of the sort of European examples just quoted, however, this argument would not be without its risks. A more likely explanation, in my view, would be that the eight-stress European pattern was taken up in Ireland at some early date among poets of all classes, the more sophisticated of whom reinterpreted the measure either (a) as containing twelve stresses per line, thus widening the possibilities for the subtle use of assonantal ornament, or (b) as a syllabic metre, with fixed stress only at the ends of phrases.

In any event, the distinction between eight-stress and twelve-stress types is based here upon two factors, i.e. the presence of a substantial number of lexical (as opposed to grammatical) items at midpoint in the quadrisyllabic foot, and the presence of ornament at this same point. If a stanza possesses both of these features, then clearly the stress is meant to be primary rather than secondary and the line should be interpreted as having twelve primary stresses. If, on the other hand, these features are only occasionally present or are lacking altogether, then the eight-stress duple explanation would seem to be called for. A great many poems in fact start out as one thing and end up as another: some poets aiming at the grand style of the twelve-stress measure find it difficult to sustain over a long period; and in other cases the vagaries of oral transmission may have led to the loss of some ornaments and the subsequent demotion of a primary stress to a secondary. The classification of poems like these must be, as a result, somewhat subjective, and my

own inclination has been to regard them as containing eight principal stresses unless there is overwhelming evidence for a twelve-stress interpretation.

8.1 A /phlúr 's a sgoith na /Féinne
 Agus /ughdar ceart a' /bhéarla,
 Ba tú an /buinneán breagh gan /aon locht
 ón /bhfréimh go dtí an /barr.
 Sé mo /léan! Is luath a /d'éag tú
 /Thiar i n-iargcúl /éireann,
 Gan /éinneach de do /ghaolta
 Le do /bhréagadh os cionn /cláir.¹²

√ / √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ /
 X B: (X) B: (X) B: B R

- (j) The only difference between patterns (i) and (j) lies in the penultimate foot, where (j) omits the first of the two unstressed syllables. The result is that the primary stressed syllable, standing at the beginning of that foot, and the secondary stressed syllable which defines the midpoint of the foot fall next to each other. This has the desirable effect of slowing the pace of the line immediately before the cadence. This pattern is a popular one, and is used both on its own and in combination with (i).

8.1 /éshtig liúmsa /shealad,
 Go /neósad div cé /càileag,
 Gur b' é /Sheán O Dyr a /ghleana,
 'Gus gan /trácht har a /ghéim,
 G'wil a /ghayir 's a choin 's a /chapuil
 Go /doying fí cré dá /garta,
 'S nár /vis cár ghoiv a /tanam
 ví a /nárhas a /chléiv!¹³

√ / √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ / √ √ √ √ √ /
 - B: - B: - B: C R

- (k) The last of the duple patterns is represented in the sample by a single poem, *Neilidh óg ní Cheallaigh*, by the Co. Derry poet Daimlic óg ó Ceallaigh. He goes to some lengths to avoid any sense of caesura at the phrase boundaries, to the extent of inserting a meaningless vocable syllable at the end of the first phrase to compensate for 'Ceallaigh' being a disyllable. It would seem likely that this text would have been sung to a lively, rhythmical tune--perhaps a slowed-down version of a reel.

- 8.1 'Sí /Neillidh óg Ní /Cheallaigh ó
 A /thóg an chraobh go /barramhail léi,
 Is /méa'ra gheobhas mar /sgathfán í,
 í /féin is a cuid /bó.
 Is /méa'ra fuair le /h-oileamhain í
 'S a /thóg i n-aois a /leibh í,
 'Sí 'n /mhaighdean mhúinte /gheanamhail í
 Nár /chlaon ariamh go /fóill. (DCCU:429)

∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ /
 - B: - B: - B: C R

10.2 Eight-stress non-*ochtfhoclach* verse

Eight-stress patterns not conforming to the *ochtfhoclach* model may be divided into two main categories. In the first of these there is only one main division within the line, falling between the fourth and fifth feet. Ornamentation is for the most part non-reduplicative: *aicill* rhyme normally is to be found linking each of the two phrases in both halves of the line; similarly, *aicill* (sometimes *aicill dhúbalta*) is a compulsory feature on either side of the mid-line boundary. Such lines are thus chiefly binary in character, giving the impression of two carefully-balanced parts forming a coherent whole.

The second category consists of patterns divisible into three constituent parts, with two clearly marked caesuras in the line. One of the caesuras will fall at the mid-point of the line, and the other at one of the other two internal phrase-boundaries, to either side of the main linear division. Thus one half of the line will appear to flow along in an uninterrupted fashion for the length of four feet, while the other half is broken into clearly-defined two-foot phrase-lengths. Lines constructed in this fashion may have arisen through the reduplication of earlier, simpler stanzaic forms, in which such a construction might have constituted an entire stanza, rather than only a part of one. Ornamentation of patterns in this category is slightly more complex than in the first, reduplicative as well as binary types of ornament playing a part.

As regards stanzaic structures, most examples of these eight-stress non-*ochtfhoclach* types are to be found in quatrains or in couplets,

although occasionally a pattern may appear in a more complex stanzaic structure.

10.2.1 Eight-stress non-ochtfhoclach patterns

- (1) This pattern has, in fact, largely the same syllabic structure as pattern (a) above, with disyllabic feet throughout. Ornamentally, however, the structure is revealed to be a binary rather than a reduplicative one, with *aicill* rhyme linking the two halves of the line together. Examples of this pattern appear to alternate freely with variant patterns containing one or more trisyllabic feet; it is nevertheless clear from examples such as the following that disyllabic movement is to be considered basic to the character of the lines:

8.1 A /Phádraig /chaoimh, a /mhic Sheáin /Ruaidh,
a /d'imthigh i /ruaig i /gcéin fá /seach,
Is /cosamhail nach ar /smaoinidh /tú ar an /uair
a /marbhadh an /t-uan ar /Chabhan na /gCearc.
(DCCU:358)

[illegible]

- (m) This pattern differs from (l) only in having a disyllable, rather than a monosyllable, at the mid-line phrase-cadence. Like (l), this pattern also frequently alternates with variants containing the occasional trisyllabic foot, as in the following stanza:

8.1 /Bhí mé /'réir ag /suirghe le /cailín
 's ba /bheag mo /spéis a /bheith 'na /dáil,
 'S nuair a /shaoileas /fhéin a /bheith dhá /mealladh
 /thuit an /paidrín /as mo /láimh;
 /Bhris mé ar /fhortún /míle /cailín
 's mé /dul le /hearradh go /Loch /Gáll,
 'S nach /truagh an /té fuair /léigheann an /tsagairt,
 is /thréig a' /chreideamh /'gheall ar /mhnáibh.
 (DCCU:371)

$$\smile / \frac{!}{-} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{(X;)} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{(X)} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{B:} \quad \smile ; \smile / \frac{!}{(X)} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{(B)} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{-} \quad \smile / \frac{!}{R}$$

- (n) In this pattern, attested in only two examples, the most striking feature is the pair of consecutive primary stresses on either side

of the caesura--a feature which, reinforced as it is by *aicill dhú-balta*, links the two halves of the line together both ornamentally and rhythmically.

- 8.1 Am /aonar /seal ag /ró/duigheacht,
 Cia /seól/fuidhe am /chuinne /lá?
 Ach an /spéirbhean /mhaiseach /mhóir-/mhín,
 As í /Móir/rín Ní Chuillion/náin!
 Ba /réigh, ba /rathmhar, /ró-/ghroidhe,
 ba /chóir, /cíortha, /clisde, /cáigh;
 A /craobh-fhoilt /cas mar /ór /buidhe,
 Na /d-tóir/síghibh go /troighthe ag /fás.¹⁴

A B: C D: C D: E R

- (o) This pattern, characterised by trisyllabic movement throughout, displays the same syllabic structure as pattern (g) above. The mid-line caesura is, however, marked by double *aicill* rhyme, while single *aicill* is used to link the pairs of phrases on either side of the main division. Because of the rhythmical resemblance to pattern (g) there are some items in the sample in which one ornamental system gives way to the other over the course of the poem.

- 8.1 Is /slaodmhar, is /lonnrach, is /longach, 's is /léidmhach,
 Is /trúpach, caith/réimneach ár /gcaomh-churadh
 /groidhe
 Go /calma, go /camthach, go /cabhlach, go /gléasta
 Ar /tonntaibh ag /taoscadh na /tréan-mhara /roimhe
 Táid /flatha suilt 's /ughdair dá /dhlúth-chur i
 /n-éinfheacht
 Go /ndubhairt focal /Dé linn i /dtéacsaibh na /naoimh
 A/nois ar theacht do'n /Fheabhra nó an /Samhradh n-a /dhéidh
 soin
 Go mbeidh /brúidigh an /Bhéarla go /faon-lag gan
 /bhrigh.¹⁵

X Y: Y C: (Y) C: C R

- (p) This pattern, like patterns (l) and (o), is accentually very similar to one of the *ochtfhoclach* patterns--in this case, pattern (k), from which the present pattern is primarily distinguishable through the application of ornamental rather than rhythmical criteria. Two examples of the pattern are attested in the sample, both from Con-nacht; the following is from a poem by Marcas ó Callanáin:

- 8.1 Is /mór an spóirt an /ghnaiúlacht,
 Is ba /mhian liomsa bheith in /aice léi;
 /Casadh cailín /deas orm
 Ag /tíocht chugam sa /ród.
 /Dhruid mé lena /taobh amach
 Is /d'fhiafraigh mé cé /hainm í
 Séard /dúirt sí: Máirín /Flanagan
 Is í /meanmnach go /leor.¹⁶

The editor of this poem, Seán ó Ceallaigh, cites variant readings of lines 2 and 4 which, if adopted, would render the stanza both rhythmically and ornamentally more consistent:

1. 2: bo veen lum ee veigh naca lum
 1. 4: a' teacht i mbéal an róid. (FA:85)

- / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ / ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ /
 B: B C: - C: C R

- (q) The following pattern is attested in a number of songs, several of which would appear to belong to a single 'song family': not only do they resemble one another metrically, they may also share the same tune, the same (complex) stanzaic structure, similar subject matter, or a similar refrain-line. No single poem in our sample uses this pattern consistently throughout; nevertheless it would appear to represent a common metrical denominator among all of the poems. In character the pattern is clearly binary, rather than reduplicative, the main linear division occurring between the fourth and fifth feet; at the same time, however, the phrase-boundary between feet 2 and 3 is also clearly marked both accentually (there is a caesura between the two syllables in the second foot) and ornamentally (by the use of what we shall be terming 'retrograde' or 'mirror' *aicill* rhyme, a sort of *aicill dhúbalta* in which the order of the two assonantal vowels involved in the *aicill* rhyme is reversed to the right of the phrase-boundary).

- 8.1 Is /fada tá /fuaim a' /gluaiseacht /eadarainn,
 A' /tuar chun /sparainne i /gclár Uí /Néill,
 ó /bhailtí na /tuatha go /bruach na /farige,
 /Uabhar agus /eagala 'gus /ár ar /Ghaedhil.
 Tá /síosma ró-/mhuar 'sa /chuan so /'n-aice linn,
 An /eagalais /buartha ar /uair an /Aifirinn,
 Ag /sileadh na /súil 'tabhairt /comhairle bhúr /leasa dhíbh
 /Táim-se 'm /chodladh nú is /fíor mo /scéal.¹⁷

$\cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / : \cup / \text{ } / \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup : (\cup) / \text{ } / \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / \cup / \text{ } /$
A B: B A: B A: C R
----- 'a' ----- ----- 'b' -----
Stanzaic structure: AABA (= 2[a+b] + 2a + [a=b])

- (r) The following pattern at first glance appears to represent an attempt to combine the contrastive features of the binary type of line with the reduplicative ones of the *ochtfhoclach* type. The principal linear division is still at mid-point, between the fourth and fifth feet. In addition, however, there is a clearly marked caesura between the second and third feet, the accentual pattern of feet 3 and 4 being identical to that used in feet 1 and 2. The first half of the line is, in fact, pure *ochtfhoclach*, the two phrases in it being both rhythmically and ornamentally identical:

8.1 A /Shéamuis, a /chroidhe! nó an /léan leat mar /bhím!
Ar /thaobh cnuic, lá /gréine, 's mé ag /géar-ghol 's ag
/caoi,... (AG:13)

$\cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / : \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / : \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } / \cup \cup / \text{ } /$
A B: A B: A A A R(=B)

In the second half of the line, however--at least in this example--all sense of phrase-boundary between the sixth and seventh feet is thoroughly obliterated not only by the uninterrupted trisyllabic movement following the mid-line caesura, but perhaps more importantly by the fact that there is no ornamental marking of the boundary which would naturally be expected at that point. The trisyllabic character of feet 5-7 would appear to echo that of feet 1 and 3, an impression which is reinforced by the use of the same assonantal vowel in all of these feet, contrasting with the 'B' assonance which reappears in the final cadence. The poet has, in fact, used reduplication (in this case, that of the first foot in the line) to produce what amounts to a four-foot 'phrase' following the second caesura, while at the same time ensuring the integrity of the line by the use of a very limited number of ornaments.

In other examples, rhythmically identical to the foregoing, ornamentation is less systematic, occasionally allowing the re-emergence--in ornamental terms, at least--of the natural phrase-boundary between the sixth and seventh feet. In the following, for example,

the 'A' assonance is missing in the first part of the line, and thus it is necessary in the second half of the line to make use of an assonantal vowel which had not previously appeared:

- 8.1 Do /gheobhainn-se go /leor, lucht /síodai 'gus /sróil,
Go mbeach /fáinní ar a /méaraibh agus /péarlai
breághth' /óir. (AG:15)

∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ : ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ : ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪
 - B: - B: - C: C R(=B)

Thus while the two halves of the line are still united by the appearance of the 'B' assonance at the end of each, the impression of a four-foot phrase in the latter half of the line is minimised through the appearance of what would seem to be an *aicill* rhyme across the phrase-boundary between the sixth and seventh feet.

This type of line is dissimilar to anything we have seen heretofore: not only are four-foot phrases unlikely in the Irish verse idiom, but it is similarly unusual that ornamentation used at the end of a line--whose function is, after all, principally that of marking the line-end--should appear previously in the interior of the same line. I do not believe, however, that we should take these seeming departures as evidence of stylistic innovation; they may, on the contrary, testify to the existence of a foreign model which has been imperfectly--though not unsatisfactorily--naturalised in the Irish context. Seán ó Tuama has drawn attention to the similarity between lines like the above and continental exemplars, and cites the following Provençal stanza (1960:308):

/Tot a es/tru
 /Vei, Marca/bru,
 /Que com/jat vo/letz deman/dar.
 /Del mar par/tir
 /Non ai cos/sir,
 /Tan sa/betz mesur/a esguar/dar

Although ó Tuama tells us that this form seems not to have been cultivated by the Anglo-Normans, it would appear possible that it nevertheless somehow gained a foothold in Ireland and developed into the form that we latterly find practised here. The evidence of our sample indicates that the form has latterly enjoyed significant pop-

ularity over quite a considerable area in the southern half of the country.¹⁸

- (s) The final pattern displays, in accentual terms at least, a precise inversion of pattern (r): the 'four-foot phrase' occurs in the first half of the line rather than in the second, and is followed by two identical two-foot phrases. The pattern is attested twice in our sample. In the following, by Eoghan Rua ó Suilleabháin, it appears in the context of a complex stanzaic structure:

8.1 I /gcaol-doire /chraobh-chluthair /néamh-dhuilleach /bhíos
 Im /aonar gan /suim in /aiteas ná i /gceol,
 Go /féith-shingil /tréith-tuirseach /faon-mhisnigh /tím
 Gan /chaomhnach ó /aoin cois /abhann ar /neoin;
 /Taobh linn-ne /fé bhile /ghné-ghluise /tigheann
 /Spéir-bhruinneall/ shaor-dinigh /scéimh-chruthach /chaoín
 Ag /taosc-shileadh /tréan-tuille /déara go /fuidheach
 Tug /daol-teimheal /caoidhe ar a /haighthe cidh /óg.¹⁹

~ / / ~ ~ / / ~ ~ / / : ~ / / ~ ~ / / : ~ / / ~ ~ / /
 A b A b A b C: A b C: D R
 ----- 'a' ----- 'b' -----
 Stanzaic structure: AABA (= 2[a+b] + 2a + [a+b])

10.3 Summary of eight-stress linear patterns

In the following summary note that reduplicative patterns (a), (g), (h) and (k) do not, in our terms, contain caesuras. In these cases the colon (:) should be interpreted as marking the most usual position of the phrase-boundaries in the pattern concerned. In the case of the binary patterns, on the other hand, the colon in most cases does indicate the presence of a caesura; exceptionally for patterns (l), (o) and (p), which lack a genuine caesura, it indicates the mid-line phrase-boundary. Other phrase-boundaries in these binary patterns go unmarked, except where a caesura may be present.

(1) Reduplicative (ochtfhoclach-type) patterns

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) | /2/1: ~ /2/1: ~ /2/1: ~ /2/1/ | /2/1: ~ /2/1: ~ /2/1: ~ /2/2/ |
| (b) | /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /2/1/ | /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /2/2/ |
| (c) | | /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /2/2: ~ /1/2/ |

- (d) /1/2: √ /1/2: √ /1/2: √ /3/1/
- (e) /3/1: √ /3/1: √ /3/1: √ /3/1/
- (f) /3/1: √ /3/1: √ /3/1: √ /2/1/
- (g) /3/2: √ /3/2: √ /3/2: √ /3/1/
- (h) /3/2: √ /3/2: √ /3/2: √ /1/1/
- (i) /4/2: √ /4/1: √ /4/2: √ /4/1/
- (j) /4/2: √ /4/2: √ /4/2: √ /3/1/
- (k) /4/3: √ /4/3: √ /4/3: √ /4/1/

(2) *Binary (non-octofhoclach-type) patterns*

- (l) /2/2/2/1: √ /2/2/2/1/
- (m) /2/2/2/2: √ /2/2/2/1/
- (n) /2/2/1/1: √ /1/2/2/1/
- (o) /3/3/3/2: √ /3/3/3/1/
- (p) /4/4/4/3: √ /4/4/4/1/
- (q) /3/2: √ /2/3: √ /2/3/2/1/
- (r) /3/1: √ /3/1: √ /3/3/3/1/
- (s) /3/3/3/1: √ /3/1: √ /3/1/

10.4 Line types containing more than eight stresses

As we had occasion to remark earlier in connexion with patterns 8.1(i) and (j), analysis and classification of eight-stress verse may not always be a straightforward matter when such verse is characterised by duple rather than by triple rhythm. In order to arrive at the most satisfactory conclusion one must carefully examine those syllables occupying a position of secondary ictus. If a substantial proportion of such syllables (a) consist of lexical rather than grammatical items and (b) display systematic ornamental features, then one may be justified in calling the eight-stress classification into question; and if most or all stanzas in the same poem betray similar features, it may be assumed that the poet was thinking in terms of a line of twelve or more primary stresses, rather than one of alternating primary and secondary stresses. In case of doubt, however, it would appear safer to classify a metre as eight-stressed, as the weight of evidence in the sample indicates over-

whelmingly that the eight-stress metre should be considered the more basic type.

This much said, it is nevertheless true that the possibility of twelve or more primary stresses in the line seems to have been an attractive one to some poets. The examples cited below cannot, it seems to me, adequately be understood simply as eight-stress types. All display a greater than average degree of ornamental sophistication, although the overall ornamental schema is generally that associated with *ochtfhoclach* verse, 3A+B. We may, I think, be justified in assuming that most of these very long linear patterns by and large represent elaborated reinterpretations of some of the commoner eight-stress duple patterns examined in §10.1 above.

10.4.1 Twelve- and fifteen-stress linear patterns

- (a) The following pattern has the same syllabic structure as pattern 8.1(i), the difference between them being that in the present pattern all stresses are primary ones. The four phrases of which each line is composed thereby contain three feet each, rather than two. An important result of this is, of course, the necessity for a silent primary stress at each phrase-cadence--a phenomenon that we earlier witnessed in the case of six-stress *rócán* verse, and in the rather unusual case of pattern 7.1(n). In the following stanza, by Marcas ó Callanáin, ornamentation is fairly systematic to begin with but becomes less so as the stanza progresses. It is significant that ornamentation disappears earliest from the second stress in each phrase--the stress which, in the 8.1 type, would be a secondary rather than a primary one. Systematic ornamentation is thus demonstrated to be a factor of crucial importance in the definition of this as a twelve-stress metrical pattern, for without the influence of such ornamentation the brain's natural preference for secondary as opposed to primary or 'cardiac' rhythmical patterns reasserts itself, and what began as a fairly clear example of twelve-stress metre has, by the end of the stanza, reverted to the more basic eight-stress type:

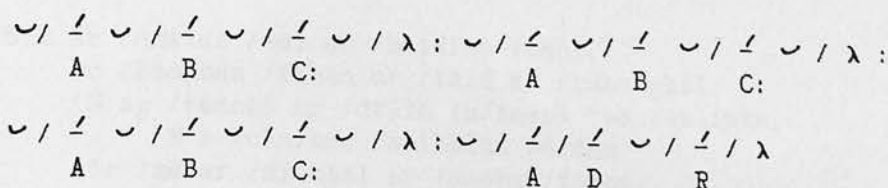
12.1 /Tá mé ag /toráíocht /cíosa ort,
 /Glan an /scór is an /spríos liom,
 Is /gann an /stór ag /tíos duit,
 Mura /bhfreagraí /tú mo /chás;
 An /pór a bhí i /dtuama /Chríosta,
 Níonn /fóirthing /dlúth ar mo /chroí istigh,
 Ní /mór liom /cúitiú a/rís duit,
 Ach /dearg /é gan /spás.
 An Té a /chruthaigh an /cine /daonna,
 Agus a /d'fhulaing /Páis Dé /hAoine,
 Is /maith a /dhóigh dhúinn /choíche,
 An Bene/feactúr a/tá ós ár /gceann;
 Is /mór é /cumhachta /Chríosta,
 Atá ag /fóirthing /ar na /Críostaithe,
 Céad /glóire, /moladh agus /buíochas,
 Agus /altú /leis dá /cheann.²⁰

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \lambda : \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \lambda :$
 X (Y) B: X (Y) B:

$\cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \lambda : \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \cup / \text{ / } \lambda$
 X (Y) B: C - R

- (b) The following pattern is related to the eight-stress pattern 8.1(j) which, as we saw, differs from 8.1(i) only in having one fewer syllable in the penultimate foot. In the present case this feature manifests itself in the antepenultimate foot being a monosyllable. In the following stanza, Eoghan Rua has been more successful than Marcas ó Callanáin in maintaining a consistent and systematic ornamental schema throughout, although even here--as in the previous example--the fourth phrase of each line betrays its origins in the presence of an artificial stress at the second ictus in every case:

12.1 Mo /chás, mo /chaoidh, mo /cheasna
 An /fáth tug /claoidhte in /easbhaidh
 /Fáidhe /draoithe /sagairt
 /Dáimh /agus /cléir,
 Gan /dán dá /ríomh le /haiteas,
 Gan /ráidhte /grinn dá /n-aithris,
 Gan /sámh-chruit /bhinn dá /spreagadh
 I /mbán-/bhroghaibh /réidhe;
 'S gach /ráib dfhuil /Mhíleadh /cheannais
 /Láidir /laoichda /tapa
 Ba /gnáthach /rinneach /reathach
 /Lán-/oilte ar /faobhar
 Gan /stát gan /mhaoín gan /fearann--
 /Ár is /míle /measa
 'Ná /Seán ó /Duibhir an /Ghleanna
 /Fág/tha gan /game.²¹



- (c) It may be arguable that the final two patterns, both employing a line of fifteen stresses, ought not to be included here but rather should be considered along with other complex stanzas of the 3A+B type (see below, §11.2.1[a]). This is indeed a grey area from the taxonomical point of view: the stanzaic structure 3A+B and the *ochtfhoclach* linear structure 3A+B are clearly not unconnected, though which may be ultimately indebted to the other remains a matter for speculation. The 3A+B unit is here classified as a line-type rather than a stanza-type on the strength of its being reduplicated within a larger stanzaic context comprised solely of such units. What may be of greatest importance, in the final analysis, is the recognition that 3A+B is a pervasive structure in Irish verse, and that its use may be measured along a continuum which includes both relatively short metrical units to impressively long ones.

The first of these fifteen-stress patterns may be related to pattern 8.1(k), although differing from it in having a disyllable rather than a monosyllable at the final cadence. Pattern 8.1(k) is composed entirely--except at the cadence--of quadrisyllabic feet, resulting in the line containing seven, rather than four, secondary-stressed syllables. When all syllables occupying a position of secondary ictus are systematically ornamented, as here, the result is a linear structure containing fifteen audible primary-stressed syllables, with a silent stress falling at the end of every line. Because of the extreme length of the linear unit the stanza contains only two lines rather than four. The pattern is attested only once in the sample, in the poem *Gaorthaí Airirighe* by Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill:

15.2 Ar /sméide /súl ar /maidion /laoi,
 Do /Phoebus /fionn ar /faid an /tsaoighil
 'S ag /téacht ar /dtúis is/teach 'na /shlighe,
 'N-a /charbad /aoibhinn /órdha
 A's /mé ar /siúbhal ar /easba /fuinn,
 Ag /téacht na /dtriúch do /chleachtas /í
 Fá /ghaorthaibh /úra /Airir/ighe,
 Is /fairsing /fíodhbha /fódghlas. (ACF:188)

∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A B: C D: A B: C D:
 ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A B: C D: C D R

- (d) In the second of the two fifteen-stress patterns attested in the sample it is significant that the well-established Irish preference for triple rhythm has reestablished itself. In addition *aicill* rhyme is used not only to link the final phrase with the preceding three, as above, but also to define the boundaries between phrases making up each of the first three quarters of the linear structure. As in the preceding case, the stanza consists of two rather than four such lines in all. The pattern is used in the poem *Er mwaidin iné*:

15.2 Er /mwaidin i/né coesh /Féili /víos
 A /machnav liúm /héin 's gan /än dom /ghyr,
 Shea do /gheárhcas an /vé fá'm /ghéin i /tiacht,
 Gur /hiteasa gan /mwíl i /ngrá léi.
 Do /ghruidéasa /léi le /héigean /fuíng,
 Agus /d'isaras /féin den /vé cé'r /v' í:
 "An /tusa hug a /léirshcrios er /läch na /Truí,
 Nú an /aingir go dug /Nuish di /lán-ghean?" (Free.:255)

∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ / / :
 A B: B: C: A B: B C:
 ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ / / : ∪ / / ∪ ∪ / / ∪ / / ∪ / /
 A B: B C - C R

10.4.2 Summary of longer linear patterns

Note that in pattern 15.2(c) there are no caesuras in the accentual pattern; the colon (:) is used, however, to indicate those phrase-boundaries most crucial to the structural integrity of the line.

- 12.1(a) 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/2/2/1/λ/
 12.1(b) 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/2/2/2/λ: ~ 1/1/2/1/λ/
 15.2(c) 1/2/2/2/1: ~ 1/2/2/2/1: ~ 1/2/2/2/1: ~ 1/2/2/2/λ/
 15.2(d) 1/3/1: ~ 1/2/1: ~ 1/3/1: ~ 1/2/1: ~ 1/3/1: ~ 1/2/1: ~ 1/3/2/1/λ/

1. *MV (iii)*, S40, as quoted in Murphy 1961:71).
2. ó Tuama 1960:305-18; also Murphy 1961:71-2, Carney 1971:57-8; P. A. Breatnach 1983:58-60.
3. J. M. Smith, *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature* (1934), 161, as quoted in ó Tuama 1961:314. See also two further examples in ó Tuama's book, 315.
4. *Anois a Shiúirín* (CO:17). Other examples: *Is truagh gan mé agus Grádh mo Chléibh* (CO:18); *An bunán buidhe* (ACU:74); *Beartlín Cing* (ACG:74); *Nuair a Théidhim-se Amach* (ACG:144). This pattern is frequently found in combination with pattern (f).
5. *Muidheach gach aon a shlighe san t-saoghal* (ILM:71); note that the absence of long-marks reflects editorial practice in ILM. Some lines of earlier stanzas of this poem display binary rather than reduplicative ornament; the same is true of *Aisling Sheaghain Mhíe Dhomhnaill* (IPS:126). A further example of this pattern is the second verse of *Bainis an tSleadhtháin Mhóir* (Raf.:111).
6. *A Mhúirín Bán* (ACF:164): presumably *turus* (l. 4) should be pronounced *t'rus*. Other examples: *Máirín Seoighe* (CO:53); *Dá mbeinnse Fósta* (CO:34); *Máirtín Seoighe* (ACG:47); *Do b' ún lium shcéal* (Free.:301); *A charaid dílis* (DCCU:196); *Comhairle an chailín* (DCCU:150); *Soitheach an Chamuis Mhóir* (DCCU:183); *Na Buachaillí Bána* (Raf.:90); *Malaigh Bhán* (DCCU:101); *An Duine Sodhantach* (DCCU:103); *A óigbhean Áluinn* (DCCU:77); *Na Franncaigh Bána* (DCCU:26); *A óganaigh óig* (ACU:58); *An Déigh-Bhean* (DCCU:113); *Cuan Bhinn éadair* (ACU:43); *A Ghiarmuid na nae 'shtig* (Free.:237); *An Brianach óg* (Free.:222); *Lá dá rausa [a ngleaun amwānar]* (Free.:219); *Lá dá rabhas-sa [is mé go déanach]* (DD:91); *Avarán a wáish* (Free.:215); *An cailín doun* (Free.:213); *Anach Cuain* (Raf.:70); *úna Phéucach* (AGCC:122); *An buachail caol dubh* (ACF:190); *Máire Stanton* (Raf.:147); *Sliabh na mBan* (ACF:136); *Máire Ní Eidhin* (Raf.:151); *Eóchaill* (ACF:4); *An turcach mór* (MMS:30); *Doraidh Braoin* (MMS:65); *Saileóg Ruadh* (MMS:68); *Amhrán an Tlú* (ACG:55); *Aishling Geal* (Free.:224); *An buachaill bán* (FF:38); *Mianta Uí Dhoirín* (ND 2:29); *A chúl donn deas na ngruanna bána* (Gunn:3); *Preab san ól* (RB:72); *An tSeanbhó Mhallaithe* (RB:88); *Dochtúir Jennings* (AMS:52); *An tSean-bhean Liath* (AMS:128); *Máire Brún* (FC:47); *Fáilte Mháire Brún* (DCCU:396, vv. 2-3); *Na Fataí Bána* (FC:67); *Seaghán Ua Maoláin* (AGI:15); *Adeir Clann Liútair* (AMC:88); *An Caisleán Cam* (CB:63); *An t-úbhal* (CAS 1:17); *An Sgol-Mhaghaister* (ILM:68); *Cailín deas Bhréachmhuigh* (CCU:51); *Is fada mé 'mo luighe* (R agus A:19); *Is tuirseach buaidheartha* (R agus A:50); *A Ghaoidhilge Mhilis* (CL) (R agus A:26); *Abhrán Grádha* (CCU:50); *An Cailín ó Chonndae Lughmhaigh* (CCU:99); *A Mháire, a Chuisle* (Cais.: 58).
7. *Máirín Parcer* (ACG:132). This is the only example in the sample of pattern (b) used with a disyllabic cadence. the stanza quoted is rhytically and ornamentally faulty in the second half of line 1, the first half of line 2, and especially in line 3, which lack the penultimate stress. These shortcomings would probably have seemed

less important, however, in the context of a sung performance, particularly one using the florid and slow-paced *sean-nós* style.

8. *An cailín deas óg* (AMS:86). Other examples: *Bí 'teacht liom a Bhrighid* (DCCU:326); *An bheirt phótaire* (DCCU:289); *Ag bun na gcuig gcrann* (DCCU:111); *Bímish ig ól* (Free.:321); *An fear ceoil* (ACG:38); *Cúl tiugh na gcrabhbh* (CT:48); *Cathal Mac Aoidh* (ND 2:46, v. 3); *Caipitín Fuiscí* (POD:36); *Muiris ó Gormáin* (POD:51).
9. *Cathal Mac Aoidh* (ND 2:46, v. 1). Another example: *Muire mo stór* (ND 1:40).
10. *Domhnall ó Dubhshláine* (ACF:148); two variants of this song, which is of wide distribution, have been included in the sample: *Domhnall ó Maoláine* (DCCU:110) and *Éamann Mhágáine* (ND 3:45). Other examples: *Doire Néidh Chasla* (CO:73); *A Ainnirín Chumhthra Mhacánta Mhúinte* (CO:106); *Mo chaora bheag dhílis* (CT:28); *Saorughadh Shighle Thír Eoghain* (DCCU:248); *Caitlín Nighean tSeoin* (CT:79); *An Bhuaitis* (ACF:146); *Pilib Séimh Ceart ó Fáthaigh* (DD:73); *Seághan ó Ciardhubháin* (ACG:27); *Is bocht mo bheatha* (DOB:62, vv. 27-8); *An Seandúine Cam* (AMS:118); *Seachrán Fhiachra Mhic Bhrádaigh* (CCU:34); *Ráfladh an Smaolaigh* (R agus A:20); *Ceithre Ráithche na bliadhna* (CCU:1); *Neillí Nic Dhomhnaill* (CCU:77); *Teanga na nGaedheal* (CAS 1:14); *Failtiughadh Rígh Searlus* (PPM:138); *Sebeal Ní Bhriain* (PPM:172); *An Báire* (Gunn:27); *Seán na Mine* (DCCU:336); *Gráinne Fhánad* (DCCU:324); *Snáth na bainríoghna* (DCCU:321); *Féidhlimidh Bán ó Ceallaigh* (DCCU:432); *Creach na Lachan* (DCCU:392); *Cúl tiugh na bpéarlaí* (DCCU:47); *A Chóursuin a chruí shtig* (Free.:162); *Ain Mhéiní* (MMS:84); *Sgoil na hOidhche* (MMS:100); *Triamhain Phádraig Uí Bhriain* (ND 2:59); *Amhrán an Bhromaigh* (DTA:60); *Inghion Uí Ghearrailt* (PPM:92); *Mairgne a' choiligh* (DCCU:274); *Cnocán an Eanaigh* (Raf.:253); *Cill-Aodáin, nó Condae Mhuigh-Eo* (Raf.:49); *Neileach* (MMS:51); *Cearc agus Coileach* (AMS:74).
11. As noted. Other examples: *Ag taisteal na sléibhte dham* (EOS:65); *Teacht na n-geana fiadhaine* (PPM:168); *Aisling Eadbhaird do Noglaigh* (PPM:244).
12. *Aifí Mhac Giobúin* (MMS:61). Other examples: *Máirín Deas Bhéil Tuinne* (CO:63); *Úna Dheas Ní Nidhe* (CO:114); *A Sheáin a mhic mo chomharsan* (FC:36); *An Sgeilpín Droighneach* (CO:31); *Brighdín Ní Mháille* (DCCU:52); *Seághan Conróid* (Raf.:67); *Brighid Bhéasaigh* (Raf.:102); *Iníon an Fhaoitigh ón nGleann* (DTA:32); *Béalaghártha* (Raf.:247); *Sinéad Nic a' Bháird* (MMS:7); *Murchadh ó Maoláin* (MMS:35); *Máilleach croidhe na gcarad* (ACG:75); *Caipitín ó Máille* (ACG:139); *Pádraig ó Dómhnalláin* (Raf.:82); *Miss Nash* (RB:85); *Dúithche 'n Phaoraigh* (AMS:37); *Tulaigh Shléibhe* (Iorr.:277); *Peigí Ní Nuinsion* (AGI:35); *Ceol na bhfaicleán bhána* (AGI:40); *Bacach Mála* (CCU:124).
13. *Sheán ó Dyr a Ghleana* (Free.:282). Other examples: *Bhuail Aisling thri mo Néall mé* (CO:125); *An bhruinneall mheirbh* (IPS:82); *Aisling san oidhche* (DCCU:235); *An Curaichín Cois na Brighde* (ACF:55); *Gabha Dubh Chill Chaise* (DTA:36); *Barún Bhaile Shláine* (SMC:70); *Bacach Buidhe na Léige* (LD:mo. 60); *Moladh ar Bhean Risteaird Uí Dhónaill* (DTA:49); *An Cnuicín Fruích* (Free.:261); *Aisling Shéamuis Uí*

- Dhoraidhin* (DCCU:330); *Jinny dheas a dhéigh-bhean* (ACU:71); *An Ghaunach* (Free.:184); *An Londubh 's an Chéirseach* (LD:no. 37).
14. *Moirin Ni Chuillionain* (PPM:56). See also *Im aonar seal ag siubhal bhíos* (EOS:48); Risteard ó Foghludha notes that this song is sung to the air of *Móirín Ní Chuilleanáin*, suggesting that Eoghan Rua may have modelled his composition on ó Tuama's song.
 15. *I Mothar Cluthair Chumhrtha* (ACF:81). Other examples: *Carraig Seac* (DO:42); *Amhrán an Phúca* (MMS:20); *Cad a gheanhig saguirt feasta* (Free.:232).
 16. *Máirín Flanagan* (FC:44). Compare also *An dia darbh ainm Iúpter* (Raf.:65), although the metre of this poem is not regular, and has not been enhanced by editorial emendations.
 17. *Táim-se am chodladh* (ACF:199). Many of the songs using this metre appear to be political in character: see *Tránhóinín déanach i géin* (Free.:112), *Sealad dem Shaoghal* (EOS:72), *An Craoibhín Aoibhinn* (LD:no. 3), all Jacobite songs; also *An Bata* (DD:83) and *Oíche na dTinte Cnámh* (DO:44), which date from the time of Daniel O'Connell; *An Chúis dá Pléidh* (Raf.:240), which celebrates political agitation against tithes in the 1830's; and *Na Prátaí Dubha* (DD:19, vv. 2, 5, 6), one of the few songs in Irish or in English to deal directly with the horrors of the Famine. A number of these are sung to variants of the same tune: see *Tránhóinín déanach i géin*, *Táim-se am chodladh*, *An Craoibhín Aoibhinn* and *An Bata*, as well as *An Sheanduini* (Free.:286) and *Tránhóinín déanach a téacht coesh leasa ghom* (Free.:110); this last song also features a refrain line which goes *Táimse im chola 's ná dúishig mé*. The same complex stanzaic structure is used in six songs: *Táim-se am chodladh*, *An Sheanduini*, *An Craoibhín Aoibhinn*, *Tránhóinín déanach a téacht coesh leasa ghom*, *An Chúis dá Pléidh*, and *An Bata*; the other songs cited here employ a quatrain structure, except for the stanzas from *Na Prátaí Dubha* which are couplets.
 18. See, for example, *An Mhaighdean óg* (AGCC:44); *An Bhrighideach* (AGCC:78); *Sidh-bhean Locha Léin* (AG:11); *Luan Dubh an Áir* (ACF:208); *Raghadsa faoin sliabh* (ND 3:43); *Tháinig díis chun an tsaoil* (RB:79); *Máire óg na gCiabhann* (AGI:29); *Tuireadh air bhas mhna an dara Ríge Seumais* (IM 2:16).
 19. *I gCaol-Doire Chraobh-Chluthair* (EOS:32). Another example: *Maidin gheal tsamhraidh* (IPS:132).
 20. *Rann an Tobac* (FC:42). See also *Bríghid Ní Cheallaigh* (DD:98, v. 1).
 21. *Mo chás mo chaoidh mo cheasna!* (EOS:35): this song is clearly modelled upon *Seán ó Duibhir an Ghleanna* (see above, ex. 8.1[j]), although Eoghan Rua's more systematic use of ornament creates the need for a slightly different analytic procedure. See, in addition, *Cois Laoi na Sreabh* (ACF:66) and *Dán Bhriain Uí Cheallaigh* (PML:9).

11 : STANZAIC & SUPRA-STANZAIC FORMS

11.0 The stanzaic organisation of traditional Irish verse is, on the whole, uncomplicated: the vast majority of the items in our sample employ simple couplet or quatrain structures. There are, in addition, some sixty examples in which a paragraph format is used, and a further 125 or thereabouts in which differing line-lengths and ornamental patterning combine to form a more complex stanzaic structure. Nearly all of these structures would, of course, originally have functioned in a musical context, and the influence of European song-forms on most of them is obvious.

In the following discussion we shall be dealing first with what we have chosen to call simple 'repeating' forms--paragraph forms, couplets, quatrains, etc.--and second, with two classes of more complex structures which we may respectively call 'serial' and 'rounded' forms. In the final section of this chapter we shall deal with the very few supra-stanzaic unifying devices operating in traditional Irish verse.

11.1 Simple repeating forms

The most commonly-encountered structures employed by Irish poets are those in which all the lines in such a structure are of the same length, possess the same type of cadence (monosyllabic, disyllabic, etc.) and normally the same end-rhyme. Structures may be of irregular length--in which case we call them 'paragraphs'--or their length may be fixed at two, four, five, six, or eight lines.

11.1.1 *Paragraph forms*

Lines of any length may be arranged in paragraphs, although most of our examples of paragraph structure employ lines of four stresses or less. One readily associates paragraph form with lines of two and three stresses--as exemplified in many prayers, gnomic verses, and

most particularly in laments like *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghair*, *Caoine ar Mhac Fhinín Duibh*, *Caoineadh Dhiarmada mhic Eoghain Mhic Cárthaigh*, and others.

Paragraph structure is, indeed, a feature very commonly associated with lament-verse, in which category we may include not only lamentations for people who have died but also poems recalling defeat in battle, poems lamenting the disadvantageous political position of the Irish--indeed, any poem which may have death, defeat, or the destruction of Ireland as its theme. The majority of these poems--in fact, the majority of all poems in paragraph form revealed in our sample--are in what is commonly referred to as *caoineadh* metre. Briefly, this metre is characterised by (a) a line containing three or four stresses and (b) ending in a disyllable, in which (c) end-rhyme may either remain uniform from beginning to end (as in *Do chuala scéal do chéas gach ló mé* [ND 1:31]) or, less commonly, change in an irregular fashion every few lines throughout the poem (as in the *Caoine* recorded by Prof. R. A. Breatnach in Ring [Breat.:242]). Internal vowel-assonance is characteristic of this metre, involving the first two stressed syllables in three-stress lines, and the second and third such syllables in four-stress lines; once more, however, the assonantal vowels participating in these internal ornaments may change at any time, and need be sustained over no fixed number of lines. Most examples of *caoineadh* metre are in paragraph form, be the paragraphs long or short; indeed, the use of paragraph form may on occasions be all that distinguishes a *caoineadh* composition from a straightforward *amhrán* composition employing line-type 4.2. There are, on the other hand, examples of *caoineadh* in which lines are organised into stanzas of fixed length, as in Pádraigín Haicéad's lament on the death of Éamann Mac Piarais (PH:21).

Whilst over half of our examples of *caoineadh* metre employ an exclusively four-stress line throughout, a substantial number use lines of both three and four stresses which may occur in one and the same paragraph; in Appendix A such poems have been classified as type 34.2. In this respect the rather literary *caoineadh* compositions differ from the likes of *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghair* and other examples of true *caointeoireacht*, in which a change in line-length is generally

acknowledged by the start of a new paragraph or section of verse. The practice is illustrated in the following lines from the seventeenth-century political poem *Aiste Dháibhí Cúndún*:

Is /dóibh is /measa liom /sparainn na /spéartha
 's a mbeith /cráite is /fá dom /dhéaraibh,
 dá /gcur ó /áit go /háit gan /réspect,
 gan /díon aige /taoiseach ná ag /préamhfhlaithe,
 gan /duine /díobh 'na /thír dá /léigean
 acht /ruagairt gan /fuara ar a /dtréanaibh
 's a /sult go /Connachta /uile dá /léirchuir.
 /Cuid dá /ndícheanna /díobh le /héitheach
 is /cuid dá /ndíol is na /críocheaibh /daora
 ag /déanamh /sochair do /bhodaig an /Bhéarla.
 /Scum na /Sagsan is na /bailtibh fá /thréine
 ag /mille na /coda dár /fosgadh ar /éigin,
 dá /leadra, dá /gcnapa is dá /spréacha.

In some poems the three-stress line predominates, while in others the four-stress type is of greater importance. Frequently a long passage composed of one type of line will give way to a passage using the other type, within the same paragraph; but it is equally common to find the two types in quite close alternation, as in the example just quoted. In neither case, however, does the change from one type to the other appear to be governed by any obvious formal or rhythmical considerations.

As we just noted, a number of examples of *caoineadh* metre may be identified in which an exclusively four-stress line occurs, no three-stress lines being employed. There can be little doubt about the appropriateness of such analysis where other indicators are present, i.e. a disyllabic line-cadence, freely alterable internal assonances, paragraph form, and--in most cases--suitably solemn subject matter. Occasionally, however, poems have been cited as examples of *caoineadh* metre in which some of these features are displayed, but about which there may nevertheless be some doubt as to the appropriateness of such classification. In his recent edition of *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche*, for example, Liam P. Ó Murchú identifies the metre as being 'bunaithe ar an saghas meadarachta a dtugtaí *Caoineadh* air agus a tháinig chun cinn sa seachtú céad déag' (1982:79). Pádraig Breatnach, however, questions this interpretation, and draws attention to the fact that not only were 'the rhyming octosyllabic couplets of the *Cúirt*...estab-

lished in the metre of English since the age of Chaucer' but that 'they enjoyed a vogue in Ireland from the end of the seventeenth century in a variety of doggerel compositions in English....' (1982-3:8). His suggestion is that it was this latter type of composition which served as Merriman's verse model for the *Cúirt*, rather than the native orally-based *caoineadh* metre. He further notes the fact that the *Cúirt* belongs to 'a markedly localised tradition of verse' (*ibid.* 10), and cites as a further example the Clare poem *An Sotach agus a Mháthair* (Gunn:43), which he says is 'most probably influenced by the *Cúirt*'. Breatnach is quite correct to question the identification of Merriman's metre as *caoineadh*, if for no other reason than that the *Cúirt* fails consistently to comply with the rule of that metre which would seem to require that lines end in a disyllable. Most lines in the poem do possess a disyllabic cadence, but the fact that quite a few do not must put the identification of the metre as *caoineadh* into question. In addition there is the problem of subject-matter: both the *Cúirt* and *An Sotach* are satirical poems, having little connexion with the lament genre usually associated with the use of *caoineadh* metre. Thus one cannot rule out the possibility, suggested by Breatnach, of another model having had something to do with the choice of metre adopted for these compositions. At the same time it must be admitted that, whatever Merriman's model may have been, the metre of the *Cúirt* sufficiently resembles that of *caoineadh* so that Irish-speakers unfamiliar with possible English exemplars would have no difficulty in accepting the metre of the *Cúirt* as a legitimate one for a composition in Irish. The fact that the lines possess four stresses, contain mid-line *aicill* rhymes and end-rhymes which change in no consistently predictable fashion (the latter certainly do not change regularly every two lines, as Breatnach's description of 'octosyllabic rhyming couplets' might seem to indicate), and are arranged in verse-paragraphs of varying lengths--all features to some extent characteristic of *caoineadh*--must give ó Murchú's claim that the metre of the *Cúirt* is 'based upon' *caoineadh* a degree of legitimacy, regardless of whatever other types of verse may in fact have influenced Merriman's choice. Perhaps significant in this connexion may be the fact that *Barántas an Bhata* (Bar.:44)--another satirical poem--contains a substantial section composed in *caoineadh* metre: it may, in fact, turn out to be the case that, while a great many laments of one sort or an-

other conform to the rules we have outlined for *caoineadh* metre, these metrical characteristics are not the sole property of the lament genre.

While by far the majority of poems composed in paragraphs employ a line of four stresses or less, there are nevertheless a few items in the sample in which the line-length is a longer one. Among these is Peadar ó Doirnin's poem *An Cléireach Bán* which figured in our discussion of *croántacht* metre earlier, one of four examples in which lines of six stresses are organised in paragraph form;² and paragraphs are also used in the poetic warrant *Ar an ábhar go dtáinig* (Bar.:50), in which the line is of the 7.2 *ochtfhoclach* type, and in the devotional poem *Muire mo Stór* (ND 1:40), in which the line-type is that of 8.1 *ochtfhoclach*.

A final feature of verse composed in paragraphs is the fact that, in many examples, the poem is divided into a number of short sections, whilst other poems are composed of or dominated by a single long paragraph. In the case of *caoineadh* metre--the ultimate origins of which probably lie in popular *caointeoireacht*--we may perhaps assume that the extended paragraph structure represents a refinement of the metrical form, a multi-paragraph structure being the norm: indeed, if our sample is an accurate indication of popular practice it would seem that verse in extended paragraphs is only half as plentiful as that composed in multiple paragraphs. The musical context of what we may call 'live' *caointeoireacht*, and the numbers of participants, would doubtless have been a factor in the evolution of the multi-paragraph structure, where stanzas were extemporised by different individuals in alternation with what appear to have been bouts of choral ululation.³ The musical context of verse in extended paragraphs is, however, so far unattested (at least in the Irish context), and we may question whether such verse was meant to be performed musically at all.⁴

11.1.2 Couplet forms

As Appendix B shows, couplet forms account for approximately 8% of the items in our sample. Couplets would appear normally to be composed of lines containing at least two phrases, as our examples include no couplet composed of monophrasal lines.

As regards the two-phrase line-types, couplet form is attested for those containing four and six stresses (i.e. lines of the *rócán* type), the latter being the more widely attested of the two. Very often these stanzas have the appearance, on the page, of quatrains, as editors have followed a well-established practice of displaying each phrase in the couplet as a separate line, as in the following:

/Déan mar 'dhéanfadh /máthair;
do /Mhacsa, Briathar /Dé,
go /gcloise sé ár /ngúine
trí /fhocail do ghúí /féin. (APD: no. 473)

A /bhile de'n /fhuirion nach /gann,
Ba /churata an /am gach /cluithche-neirt:
Ná /tuigtheair do /mhisneach go /fann,
'S a /ghoireacht duit /cabhair 's /cuideachta. (PPM:76)

Of course the fact that such stanzas are represented as quatrains in print does not mean that we should take them as such: their structure is, after all, meant to be apprehended aurally, not visually.

Couplet structures are most frequently encountered in the context of seven- and eight-stress lines, i.e. lines containing four phrases:

Goid /chapaill ná /bó ní /dhearna mé riamh /fós
Le go /gcaillfinn leat /cló mo /scéimhe;
Ach De/laney an tréa/túir do /dh'éalaigh uaim chun /siúil,
Agus /Máire insa /chúirt am' /dhaoradh. (DO:76)

/Luan dubh an /áir tháinig /suaimhneas ró/bhreágh,
/D'imthighdear /uaimse leath-/uairín roimh /lá
Ag /iascaireacht /báid a /gciantaibh a /mbáth,
D'fhúig /iarsma na /bliadhna, 'n-a /ndiaidh go bhfaghad
/bás. (ACF:208)

It seems probable that musical considerations may have played a part in the composition of some poems as couplets rather than quatrains, particularly in cases involving the longer line-types. Many Irish

tunes, especially those associated with *rócán* and with the seven- and eight-stress line types, commonly possess two main parts or, as musicians themselves term them, 'strains'. The well-known air to *Éamonn an Chnoic* furnishes a good example. The first strain--strain 'A'--consists of two phrases of eight bars each, the second differing from the first only in the last two bars where it confirms a tonic rather than a dominant tonality. Strain 'B' also consists of two phrases. In the first of these, new melodic material is presented in the first four bars, while the last four bars of this phrase are identical to those same bars in strain 'A'. The final phrase in the song is identical to the second phrase:



If this song were sung--as I have no doubt it has been--by a singer who had forgotten, or perhaps never learned, that strain 'B' is not quite identical to strain 'A', the listener could be forgiven for thinking that the stanzas of *Eamonn an Chnoic* contained only two lines each, rather than four, each pair of lines corresponding in length to that of strain 'A'. This phenomenon will, in fact, be familiar to anyone accustomed to listening to traditional singers. It is but a small step beyond this to suppose that a poet could model upon such a performance a new song in which he would actually compose couplets rather than quatrains. The first strain of *Eamonn an Chnoic* could, in

fact, be sung to either of the two stanzas just quoted with quite satisfactory results.

11.1.3 Quatrains

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a 'stanza' as 'a group of lines of verse (usually not less than four) arranged according to a definite scheme which regulates the number of lines, the metre, and (in rhymed poetry) the sequence of rhymes; normally forming a division of a song or poem consisting of a series of such groups constructed according to the same scheme' (def. 1). English poets and prosodists have seemingly been disinclined to admit as 'stanzas' organisational entities shorter than four lines in length; they have, on the other hand, been willing to define as quatrains stanzas in which the end-rhyme differs from line to line--as, for instance, when the first and third lines employ a different end-rhyme than the second and fourth.⁵ We take a slightly different view here. With regard to the first point, the evidence of our sample would seem to suggest that Irish poets, whilst they may generally prefer the quatrain forms, have no philosophical objection to granting to the couplet the status of 'stanza' in its own right. With regard to the second point, we have taken the position that the basic unit of Irish versification is the line, which we have defined as a syntactically complete verse-utterance, rhythmically and ornamentally similar (a) to immediately preceding and/or following utterances in the same stanza, or (b) to lines occupying parallel positions in the structure of other other stanzas in the same composition. For this reason we do not consider syntactically-incomplete half-lines, such as those quoted in our discussion of couplets above, to have the status of lines in our terms--terms which, as we have stated, are aural rather than visual.

Quatrains, then, we here define as stanzas composed of four lines, all of which manifest a greater or lesser degree of conformity in matters accentual and ornamental. In other words, quatrains are stanzas in which, at a minimum, all of the lines are of the same line-type and carry the same end-rhyme. Accentual patterns may vary slightly from line to line, as may the rigour with which the rules for

internal ornament are applied, but neither sort of departure is sufficient to prevent the hearer from distinguishing one line from another so long as the appropriate number of stresses and uniform end-rhymes are maintained.

Of the 1293 items in our sample, nearly 1000 are organised in quatrains. This situation probably reflects the importance in the Irish tradition of song-forms which have been widespread throughout Europe since the sixteenth century, and which doubtless owe much to the forms developed by the goliards, troubadours and trouvères in the 11th-13th centuries--forms which, in turn, may represent elaboration of the practices of, among other things, Latin hymnody. As Donald Jay Grout has pointed out, the compositions of these medieval composer-poets are characterised by 'repetition, variation and contrast' which 'naturally produce a more or less distinct formal pattern';⁶ and it stands to reason that musical experimentation with form should have had a parallel impact upon versification--the two must, in fact, have been inseparable parts of the same process. Seán ó Tuama has drawn attention to continental stanzaic forms practiced in Ireland, and makes the case that these forms may have become known in this country at the time of the Anglo-Norman settlement.⁷ Whatever the truth of his argument as to the date of this process, it is suggestive that Gaelic Scotland, which underwent no such colonisation, has in its verse-practices retained a level of diversity far higher than in Ireland, where quatrain structures have gained a position of unassailable supremacy over all other forms.

A quatrain may be composed of lines containing up to four phrases. Most popular are quatrains composed of two-phrase lines (corresponding to four-, five- and six-stress *rócán* line-types); such quatrains account for over half of the total. Next in popularity are quatrains containing four phrases (eight-stress and some seven-stress line-types) and three phrases (six-stress *crosántacht* and other seven-stress types). Examples of all of these may be seen in chapters dealing with the various line-types. There are also a total of seven examples of quatrains composed of monophrasal three-stress lines. Three of these (APD nos. 81, 197, 272) are prayers, and because none of them contains more than one stanza it may be more proper to say that they

are composed in paragraph form, the paragraphs in these cases happening to be four lines long. The other examples of such quatrains are all cited in the course of our discussion of line-type 3.3 (§4.1.6 above); all display a particularly high level of sophistication in terms of both rhythmical and ornamental complexity.²⁸

11.1.4 Five-line stanzas

There are three examples of five-line stanzas attested in the sample. All come from the Ossory region of Co. Kilkenny, and all should perhaps be classed as examples of what we may call non-literary *caoineadh*--a species of metre standing somewhere between genuine *ex tempore* keening, in which short *rosc* paragraphs of varying length alternate with bouts of choral lamentation, and the sort of literary *caoineadh* of which a diagnostic feature would appear to be a text presented in a single paragraph of extended length. In these three examples the stanza-length (or should we say 'paragraph-length'?) appears to have been fixed at five lines, although in all other respects the stanzas display the features of *caoineadh* metre which we described earlier in this chapter. The most metrically satisfactory of the three examples is the following, described by the collector, Seán ó Doinn, as 'an extempore *caoineadh* by a Co. Kerry maiden for her brother, a smith, who died on the border of Iverk';²⁹ we quote it here in its entirety:

A /dheartháir /ó is a /dheartháir /dhílis,
 /Thá a fhios a/gamsa /cad a /chloígh tú--
 /Bualadh an /oird ar /dheis na /gaoithe,,
 Is /céalacan /fada, is /drochbhean /tí agat,
 Is /léine sha/lach le /haghaidh na /saoire!

Dá /mbeifeá /cois abha /Bhríde,
 /Cois abha /Thriopaille mar a /dtiteann an /oíche,
 /Gheobhainn go /leor de mhná /óga id' /thimpeall--
 /Ghoilfeadh /Máire, /Cáit, is /Síle,
 Is go /deimhin ní /ligfinnse tos/ach na /slí acu!

It may be the case that a musical factor lies behind these five-line stanzas--a five-line melodic pattern which had, perhaps, become so closely associated with *caointeoireacht* that people automatically

thought of it when composing or extemporising a *caoineadh*. Whatever the explanation of the phenomenon it must, in the absence of further examples from other parts of the country, be reckoned a purely local development.

11.1.5 Six-line stanzas

The sample reveals two examples of six-line stanzas. The first occurs in Art Mac Cumhaigh's lament on the death of Art óg ó Néill--lament verse, indeed, would appear to be quite flexible with regard to the adoption of non-quatrain stanzaic structures. This poem is composed in *caoineadh* metre and employs the same end-rhyme throughout, but instead of paragraph form the poet has used a regularised six-line stanza form from beginning to end. Here is the first stanza:¹⁰

Tar /éis mo /shiúil fríd /chúigibh /éireann,
Is ar /mhullach Dhroim /Buí a /shuíos im /aonar,
An /áit ar /mhian liom /scíth do /dhéanamh;
/'Sé bhí /dlúimh ar /shnua na /spéire,
An pól /Arctic 's na /planets i /ndeabhaidh le /chéile,
'S an /cheathair-dhúil /uile gan /solas faoi /éiclips.

The second example is rather peculiar. It consists of a prayer from Donegal, two stanzas in length, in which each stanza is composed of three couplets. Each of these couplets differs from the others in the same stanza by displaying a different end-rhyme; and there appears to be no requirement that all lines in the stanza embody the same type of cadence. It may be, of course, that the grouping of these couplets into six-line stanzas was done editorially; but against this we must acknowledge the fact that, particularly in the case of the first stanza, the six lines are clearly intended to be taken as a syntactic unit, and indeed the poet displays considerable skill in his use of parallelism and repetition as unifying structural devices. Here is the prayer in its entirety:

/Fáilte /dhuit, a /Mhuire /mhór,
 a /Mhaighdean /shíoraí, ár /ndídean /chóir,
 a /Mháthair /íosa, a /réalt na /mara,
 a /scáth na /mbocht, ár /n-anam/chara;
 is /tú 'thóg an /bláth a /thit le /héabha,
 is /tú 'thóg is /d'oil an /tUan a /shaor sinn.

A /scátháin na /suáilce 's a /chiste 'n /reacht',
 a /chathaoir na /heagna 's na /humhlai/ochta,
 a /Mháthair /mhúirneach 's a /Ríon na /ndúl,
 /scaoil ó na /glais mé 'tá /ceangailte go /crua.
 A/nois /agus ar /uair ár /n-éag'
 /tabhair /dúinne /síocháin /Dé. (APD:no. 457)''

The structure of these stanzas could be formulaically represented AABBC; and while such form is rare in the context of Irish verse, it counts as a traditional stanzaic form in English. The following stanza comes from a manuscript of the late fourteenth century:¹²

Mercy is hendest where sinne is mest,
 Mercy is lattere there sinne is lest;
 Mercy abideth and loketh al day
 When man fro sinne wille turnen away;
 Mercy saveth that lawe wolde spille:
 Mercy asketh but Godes wille.

11.1.6 Eight-line stanzas

Irish poets appear to have been no fonder of eight-line stanzas than they were of stanzas of five or six lines. The sample contains two examples in which the stanza-length is unequivocally eight lines, and a further three which at first glance appear to employ eight-line stanzas, but about which we have some reservations.

One of the two poems about which we have no doubt in this respect is *Cathair Dhroichead Átha* by the eighteenth-century poet Liam Mhac Giolla Chiaráin (R agus A:42). As the following stanza demonstrates, the poet has managed to ensure that the same rhythmical and ornamental patterns appear consistently in all eight lines:

/Samhail Dhroichead /Átha ní'l le /fagháil ins na /réagúin
 ó /Ghaillimh go /Cáirlinn is go /h-árdán Bhinn /éadair;
 Tá an /mhuir is tá an /traigh ann is fíor-/áille le /féachaint--
 Thig /luing, barc is /badaí ón /Spáinn is ón /nGréig ann;
 Ní'l /rum, saic nó /March beer is ní /áirmhim Gen/éva,
 Nó an /biotaille is /láidre faoi /rásai na /gréine,
 Nár /chinnte le /fagháil ag toigh /Bheárnaidh Uí /Raghailligh,
 'S cuirim /cúig milliúin /sláinte le n-a /cháirde 's le n-a
 /chéile!

The other poem, *Páidín ó Rafartaigh* (ACF:118), displays all of the features of the above, differing from it only in being based upon line-type 4.3 rather than type 4.2.

Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin's poem *Moladh Eanaigh* (EOS:92) is also composed in what appear to be eight-line stanzas: all lines employ the same end-rhyme, and all may be classified as type 4.1. With his usual subtlety, however, Eoghan Rua has managed--even within this simple framework--to introduce a complication. Here is the first stanza:

Cé /seóladh le /tréimhse me ag /straeireacht de /shíor
 ó /bhórd-imeall /Bhéarra go /héirne na /ríobh
 Ní /heólach dam /béithe ná /séimh-fhir sa /tslighe
 I /gcóimh-meas do /thréad chneasta /shaor Eanaigh/ thíos;
 Is /comhadmhar a /n-éigse go /saothrach ag /sníomh
 Gach /sórt foirm/ bhéarsa do /b'éidir a /scriobhadh
 'S is /ceart a chanaid /ranna i bpratainn /éifeacht gan
 /fuirgeall
 I /seól-reacht na /saor-fhlaith go /glé gasta /glinn.

With almost any other poet we might doubt that the change of rhythm and ornament in the first half of line seven was intentional. Eoghan Rua, however, makes the same change in all seven stanzas of this poem, and we must assume he meant it. He is, indeed, one of the poets most given to stanzaic experimentation, as we shall presently see in our discussion of complex stanza-types. The stanza-structure used in this poem should, perhaps, be classed as one of these complex types, notwithstanding the fact that it superficially appears to fulfil our criteria for a stanza of the simple repeating type in which all lines are of the same type and employ the same end-rhyme.

In Ragnall Dall Mac Domhnaill's poem *A Chreagáin Uaibhrigh* (DCCU:31) a stanza of eight lines in five-stress *amhrán* metre appears at the end of the poem, the first part having been composed of a mixture of verse-paragraphs in *crosántacht* metre and short prose passages:

/Míle go /beacht /seacht gcéad i /gcionn a cúig /déag,
 Seacht /lá le /ceart ar /dteacht do'n /aon-mhí i /réim,
 Sé /leagadh an /tslat, a chuir /Art Mhac /Aoidh Uí /Néill,
 Le /gall gan /cheart acht /neart i /bhfaon-chlann/ Gaedheal;
 Is dá /maireadh na /flatha tá i /bhfeartaibh /fúm sa' /chré,
 Ní /leigfidhe an /tslat a chuir /aicme /príomhshliocht /Néill,
 Gan /ceasnadh gan /creathnughadh /basgadh is /díbirt /tréan:
 Mo /dhith, mo /shlad, sí'n /trasgairt /díomhain damh /é.

The question here is whether we are to take this final element as a stanza--an interpretation unconfirmed by the presence of another stanza of the same kind--or whether we should simply take it as a final paragraph which just happens to contain eight lines. Fortunately we are spared this awkward choice by the existence, in poems composed by contemporaries of Mac Domhnaill's, of a device which they termed *An tAnnálach*. This *annálach* is a species of *envoi* used at the ends of formal laments which appears to have had the function of fixing the date of the dead person's demise or of his burial--an analistic function, in fact.¹³ The final section of *A Chreagáin Uaibhrigh* would appear, on both textual and metrical grounds, to be an *annálach*. The fact that it is an eight-line stanza rather than a quatrain need not worry us: the works of Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondáin, Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta, Art Mac Bionaid, and other Oirialla poets demonstrate that it was occasionally acceptable for an *annálach* or *amhrán* section to contain two quatrains rather than the more usual one; and in this instance it would appear that the stanzaic boundary between the two quatrains has, in the interest of syntactic continuity, been dispensed with. Thus we may perhaps be justified in concluding that the poet set out with the intention of composing eight lines of verse--no more, and no fewer.

Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill also uses an eight-line stanza in his poem *Sin choidhche Clár Luirc* (ACF:106), although this stanza too is slightly unusual:

Sin /choidhche /Clár Luirc /támhach gan /treóir,
 Gan /fíon, gan /dán, gan /trácht ar /cheól,
 /Síolrach /Mhártain /lán de /scóip
 A's sliocht /Mhileadh /Spáinne /báidhte i /mbrón.
 De /dhruim na /scéal le /tréimhse a /leath,
 Do /dhíbir /séan, do /chlaochlaidh /rath
 Do /mhill na /héin, a's /éisg na /sreabh,
 Do /chríon gach /géag 's a /bpréamha /mheath.

The curious feature here is the use of two different sets of assonantal vowels in the same stanza. This happens in all three stanzas of the poem, ruling out the possibility that it might represent the conflation of two halves of originally distinct stanzas. In all three stanzas the same two assonantal vowels /o:/ and /a/ appear at the cadence, the change occurring at the fifth line; similarly, in the first stanza the *aicill* rhyme linking the second and third feet of each line is realised by assonating /a:/ vowels in the first four lines, but by /e:/ vowels in the second four. In addition, there is in each of the first two stanzas a clearly-indicated syntactic break after the fourth line, a further factor which might suggest that the two halves of the stanza were originally conceived as separate entities. Against this, however, we have the fact that in the second stanza the *aicill* rhyme remains uniform over all eight lines, and in the third the change in assonantal vowel occurs not at the fifth line but at the third; similarly, and perhaps more significantly, in the third stanza the poet does away with the syntactic boundary between lines four and five. However he began, it would appear that by the third stanza he clearly intended the stanzaic unit to be one of eight lines rather than four.

11.2 Complex stanzaic forms

The stanzaic forms we have so far discussed are characterised by what we may call 'direct repetition', meaning simply that corresponding accentual and ornamental features are to be found in every line of a stanza, and very often in every stanza of a poem. As we have seen, Irish poets appear in the main to have preferred such structures to more complex ones.

There are, nevertheless, over 100 examples in our sample of poems employing more complex stanzaic structures. Most of these poems are of Munster origin, the work of that innovative body of poets which flourished in the eighteenth-century courts of poetry. These complex structures are very diverse in character, but all rely for their various effects upon 'indirect' or 'alternating' repetition. Rather than all lines in a stanza conforming to the same basic accentual and ornamental pattern, these complex structures employ lines of differing lengths and accentual conformations, with contrastive use of different end-rhymes and other ornamentation. Sometimes, indeed, it may be difficult to determine the line-lengths employed, as what may at first appear to function in an integral fashion on its own--and thus seem to qualify as a line, in our terms--may subsequently combine with another element to form what should clearly be interpreted as a larger metrical entity. Or the reverse may be true: a polyphrasal metrical unit may be broken down into its constituent parts, and one or more of these parts used to define a contrasting linear structure. The structure of such complex stanzas--as, indeed, of all stanzas--is clearly an hierarchical one; and it is the business of the analyst to pick apart the various structural elements and describe them in such a way as most clearly to reveal the stanza's overall architectural integrity, while at the same time showing appreciation of those details which give the whole edifice its character and colour. Let us take the following stanza by Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin (EOS:74) as an illustration:

- A Do rinneadh /aisling bheag /aerach dam /féin 'san /oidhche
- B 'S me /faon-lag /sinte /tráth ar /neóin
- C Gur /casadh i /gcéin me ag /déanamh /smaointe
- D I /ngleanntán /aoibhinn gan /aon im /chomhair;
- E Mar a raibh /cantain na /n-éan ar /ghéagaibh /crainn ghlais
- F /Lachain is /éisc ag /scéitheadh ón /dtacide
- G An /eala go /glé ag /téacht ar /tuinn ann
- H 'S an /péarla in /íochtar /tráth os a /gcomhair.

Here we have a stanza which, as printed, would appear to contain eight lines. Lines A and B, however, are clearly meant to be taken as a unit, as are lines C and D: both pairs are syntactically linked, and the bond is confirmed by the presence of *aicill* rhyme. We may, therefore, be justified in interpreting lines ABCD not as four four-stress lines, but rather as two lines corresponding to type 8.1.

Lines E, F, and G, however, make us think again about this interpretation. Here are three consecutive lines, all conforming to the same accentual and ornamental pattern--the pattern, as it happens, of the 'half-lines' A/C. So clearly we must admit this half-line to possess a certain measure of integrity, which allows it to function either independently--as in lines E, F, and G--or as an element in a larger structural unit.

How, then, are we best to analyse this stanza, so as to give the clearest possible exposition of its structure? We might, for example, describe it using a formula like $[2(A+B) + (3A+B)]$ --an interpretation which would accurately enough reflect the accentual and ornamental contrast between the two types of lines employed ('A' being the equivalent of lines A/C/E/F/G above, and 'B' of lines B/D/H).

What this formula does not do, however, is give any sense of the overall architectural integrity of the stanza, failing as it does to acknowledge the fact that the poem is organised into four perceptually equal time-segments, each containing eight stressed syllables. The analyst who is aware of this basic fact will wish his analysis to reflect it, and instead of the above formula will suggest something like $[2(A+B)+(2A)+(A+B)]$ --an analysis which is immediately recognisable as an expression of the widely-attested European verse-structure AABA.¹⁴

A similar problem arises in several stanzas of the song *An Dreoilín* (CAS 3:7):

- A /D'imthigh an /dreoilín a/nonn thar /muir
- B ó /luibh na /carraige /uainn go /rioth
- C Is /mó duine a' /faire air ó /Luan go /Satharn
- D Gan /bhall ná /baile 'ge ach /sgáth ar /toir.

While the ornamentation of these lines is no more than minimal, in accentual terms the relationship between them is quite subtle. On the face of it all four lines contain four stresses, and on this basis we may wonder whether we are justified in classifying this as a complex stanza at all. A further glance, however, reveals lines CD to be a metrical unit of the eight-stress *ochtfhoclach* type. This may lead us

to decide that there are two types of lines represented in the stanza, type 4.1 (lines A and B) and type 8.1 (CD), and that they combine in a stanza conforming to, say, the pattern 2A+B, where 'B' is equivalent to a single statement of the *ochtfhoclach* formula (3a+b). This pattern, however, while it contains a certain amount of important information, again fails to account for the overall quadripartite symmetry of the stanza. The fact is that lines C and D are each susceptible of two different explanations, each of which is, in its way, important to a thorough understanding of the stanza's structure. On the one hand, both lines may be seen to participate in the 8.1 *ochtfhoclach* unit which occupies the second half of the stanza. On the other, line C may be seen to be composed of two phrases, each of which in its accental conformation resembles the initial phrase of lines A/B, and each of which ends in the same assanating vowel /a/. Line D, meanwhile, significantly resembles lines A and B, all three exemplifying line-type 4.1, and sharing the same end-rhyme. Seen in this light the overall structure of the stanza may be represented by the formula $[2(a+b)+(2a)+(a+b)]$, the use of lower-case letters indicating that the structure has been analysed according to phrase-lengths rather than line-lengths. And rather than classifying the line-types used in the stanza as types 4.1 and 8.1, we would in this case categorise them as types 4.1 and 2.2. While both interpretations are correct and even, in a sense, necessary, the latter one is, it seems to me, marginally to be preferred for the reason that it reveals the four-part structure as conforming, once again, to the basic AABA formula.

Application of such criteria should, in the end, be of benefit to the editorial process, the aim of which must be to display a stanza on the page in such a way as most clearly to reveal its structure. The underlying AABA pattern applicable to this stanza would thus be best displayed by printing the stanza so as to emphasise the contrast embodied in the third line, thus:

D'imthigh an dreoilín anonn thar muir
 ó luibh na carraige uainn go ríoth
 Is mó duine a' faire air ó Luan go Satharn
 Gan bhall ná baile 'ge ach sgáth ar toir.

Or better still, thus:

D'imthigh an dreoilín anonn thar muir
 Ó luibh na carraige uainn go riath
 Is mó duine a' faire air
 Ó Luan go Satharn
 Gan bhall ná baile 'ge ach sgáth ar toir.

The form is, obviously, reminiscent of that of the 'limerick', itself another manifestation of AABA structure.

The charm of these complex stanzas thus often lies in the very ambiguity of the linear structures deployed within them, structures whose integrity may seemingly be established at the beginning of a stanza, only to be reinterpreted in the middle or at the end of the same stanza. A pattern is set up only to be altered, or even in some cases broken off, delightfully confounding the expectations of the listener, whilst at the same time reinforcing his awareness of the larger structural unity of the stanza as a whole. The phenomenon is similar to that of an unexpected key change or a false cadence in music, the composer having led the listener to expect one thing and then turned aside from it and done quite another, making his ultimate return to the original key or cadence doubly satisfying.

In the discussion which follows, and in the appendices, verse employing complex stanza structures is analysed according to the following basic guidelines:

- a) Line-types employed in the stanza are noted in order of occurrence. Thus the stanza by Eoghan Rua given above would be analysed as employing line-types 8.1/4.2; the stanza from *An Dreoilín*, types 4.1/2.2. It is possible, as we shall see, for a stanza to employ lines of more than two types. In the appendices, however, the line-type designation of such stanzas is simply given as 'mixed'.
- b) Stanza structures are described formulaically, a preference being shown for formulae which convey a clear sense of the architectural symmetry of the stanza. Because such symmetry may occasionally be more clearly revealed through the rhythmical organisation of the lines than through the ornamental schema (although there are many examples where both rhythm and ornament work together to the same purpose), these formulae may in some cases appear to be at variance with the ornamental facts of the stanza. In such an event it may be appropriate to provide a second formula to elucidate the ornamental schema

of the lines, or at the least to note where divergence between ornamental and rhythmical schemata occurs. What is important to realise is that the ornamental schema cannot always be relied upon accurately to reflect the rhythmical organisation of the stanza; and because accentual verse is always recognisable as such on rhythmical grounds, whether the rhythm be ornamented or not, we must therefore admit rhythmical considerations to be of greater significance than ornamental ones in the determination of metrical structure.¹⁵

- c) In the appendices, formulaic indication of stanza structure is reduced to its most basic: both of the poems discussed above, for example, are there indicated as conforming to the pattern AABA. A thorough analysis of structure requires, of course, more than this, as the procedures in the following pages will illustrate. In the few cases where stanzaic structures are too intricate to submit to such generalisation they are simply indicated in the appendices as 'complex'.

Complex stanzaic forms can be assigned to one or the other of two basic categories. The first of these consists of what we may call 'serial' forms in which the final element of the stanza is in clear contrast with all that has gone before it. The simplest of these forms, and the most popular, may be described with the formula 3A+B--the *ochtfhoclach* formula, indeed, enlarged to accommodate a full stanza length. The second category comprises 'rounded' forms, embodying a 'return'. What this means is simply that the final structural element in the stanza closely resembles one used earlier in the same stanza; those conforming to the pattern AABA are of this type.

11.2.1 *Serial forms*

Serial forms appear, on the whole, latterly to be less popular than those of the rounded sort, and there is less variety to be found among them. On the other hand, the 3A+B form--the most popular of the serial forms, and second in overall popularity only to the rounded form AABA--is one of the most basic and influential of all Irish verse-models, as we shall shortly see.

Nearly two-thirds of these serial-type stanzas are constructed using only two line-types, which we designate 'A' and 'B'. In some

cases, the length of one element may be half that of the other; in most, however--and the popular 3A+B form is among them--the 'B' element is only slightly shorter than 'A', never more than a foot and often only one or two syllables shorter.

(a) 3A+B

The most basic manifestation of the 3A+B structure is, as we have earlier seen, that associated with lines of the *ochtfhoclach* type. In that context, of course, the 3A+B pattern does not constitute a stanza on its own, but forms part of a larger stanzaic structure containing at least two statements of the pattern. *Ochtfhoclach* 'lines' are thus made up of a series of four phrases, each of these normally being no more than three feet in length, the fourth phrase contrasting with the previous three in terms of its syllabic configuration, its ornamentation, or (most likely) both.

The 3A+B stanzaic forms which we see here are structurally parallel to the *ochtfhoclach* pattern, the difference between them being the substitution of line-lengths for phrase-lengths. In the case of *ochtfhoclach*, we recall that the length of the final element 'B' may vary by no more than a foot from that of the preceding three 'A' elements (as in the case of seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* types), or alternatively the two elements may be precisely equal in length, depending upon ornamentation and/or rhythmic variation to supply the necessary contrast (as in the case of eight- and twelve-stress line-types). The same we find generally to be true in the case of stanzas constructed on the 3A+B principle. Such stanzas are, in fact, only one step beyond the longest of the *ochtfhoclach* structures, that containing twelve stresses; for in none of our examples does the stanza as a whole, comprising a single statement of the 3A+B pattern, contain more than sixteen stresses in all. Putting this another way, each of the three 'A' lines contains four stresses, and the 'B' line contains either four stressed syllables, or three stressed syllables followed by a silent stress, as in the following:¹⁶

Do /mheasas im /aigne 's /fós im /chroí
 an /marbh ba /mharbh gur /beo do /bhí
 ag /carabhas /macra, /feoil is /fíon,
 /punch dá /chaitheamh is /branda. /λ

In the following stanza all four lines are of the same length, i.e. they contain the same number of stressed syllables. In 'B', however, the line ends in a monosyllable rather than a trisyllable, and the cadence is differently ornamented:¹⁷

/Bhí mise /lá 's mé ag /siubhal taobh na /Carraice,
 Nuair a /casadh damh 'n /Bháb agus /clóca beag /geal uirthi;
 /Leag mé mo /lámh ar a /brághaid le /gean uirthi,
 /Tá mé mo /chodladh, 's má /tá níl /néal.

One further example of the 3A+B pattern is interesting in that 'B' is principally differentiated from 'A' by means of ornamentation, all four lines being of type 4.1:¹⁸

Mo /shlán chun a' /bhaile, chun na /bhfear a bhíodh /fial,
 Is mo /shlán chun na /croise gur /minic ann mo /thriall,
 Mo /shlán chun gach /duine gur /dhuine liom /iad,
 Is mo /bheannacht go /dian a /scaoilim 'na /dtreo.

The *aicill* rhyme marking the medial caesura in the last line demonstrates a trifle more sophistication than is the rule in these 3A+B stanzas which are, on the whole, uncomplicated.¹⁹

Seán ó Tuama (1960:241-2) has argued that the 3A+B stanza structure represents an Irish reflex of the French *carole* form, which through the agency of its musical setting brought about the combination, in the Irish context, of the accentual *carole* form with the Irish syllabic forms *ochtfhoclach mór* and *ochtfhoclach beag*, resulting in the emergence of the accentual *ochtfhoclach* forms. While denying neither that there may have been points of contact between Irish and French poetic forms, nor that the musical setting of the *carole* may have been influential in Ireland, I consider that as an explanation of accentual *ochtfhoclach* ó Tuama's argument proceeds from a faulty premise in its assumption of the priority of syllabic models for Irish accentual verse. It would seem to me far likelier that the syllabic *ochtfhoclach* forms represent a regularisation, in syllabic terms, of native accentual forms based on the conscious arrangement of phrase-

lengths in a 3a+b pattern, a pattern which Prof. Carney has shown to have functioned as an organising principle in Old Irish accentual verse. This is not to say, however, that the regularised form of this pattern, in which statements of 'a' are seemingly limited to three, may not owe something to continental models. Other Old Irish examples show that the number of 'a' phrases need not necessarily have been limited to three: we earlier had occasion to quote a long passage from *Bretha Nemed* which illustrated this point (cf. p.149 above). More recently the evidence of Scottish Gaelic 'strophic' verse testifies to the fact that the 'A' element in an nA+B stanzaic structure need not be limited to a fixed number of statements, as has seemingly been the case in Ireland for some time past. If the regularisation of the numbers of 'A' phrases/lines can be shown to have arisen as a result of Irish poets coming in contact with foreign models, it might go some way towards explaining why, in Scotland, the 'strophic' stanzaic structures lack the predictability of the 3A+B stanza form, the number of 'A' elements in them being freely variable from poem to poem and, frequently, from stanza to stanza within a poem. If the popularity of the 3A+B stanza form in Ireland, and the analogous regularisation of the native *ochtfhoclach* form, may be credited to foreign influence, then it is hardly surprising that Scottish Gaelic poets should have developed the Old Irish phrasal principle upon quite different lines, considering the fact that Norman influence upon Scottish verse practice can never have been particularly strong or direct.

(b) 4A+4B

Earlier we stated that in most stanzas of the serial 'A+B' type the 'B' element is only a foot or so shorter than 'A'. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, and the following stanza provides an example of one such exception. Although the formula 4A+4B may suffice in the barest way to describe this structure, it is important to note at the same time that, because of the shorter line-length employed in 'B', the 'B' section of the stanza is only half the length of the 'A' section (Free.:137):

Trí Chuíl Ruish am änar a ngärha glas iving,
 Ig Léinloch a víos is mé('r) teasdal er nóin,
 Ví [tlímpireacht guh éan an ar ghéaguiv am hímpal,
 Do réifeach gach duírshi le haiteas a geól:
 Ví míolta 'gus tréanfuic a pléracht er ínsheachuiv,
 Agus slaed veala 'gíoruiv ig beachuiv chun sdóir,
 Cruíngvili 'géili lesh gahän tora a víshleacht,
 Agus méanach glan suitti le havarc an ôir:
 Bíon éisc veara preabuig chun tàiliv o'n ling,
 Agus géim ig an easuig er hleasuiv a ghling;
 Don réir shin bog taingeavach mwaishi gach(a) bwíl,
 O häv Tuirc ón Leavuing, is às shúd don Ríng.

(c) 7A+B

We had occasion to examine the following stanza previously, in connexion with our discussion of *croasántacht* metre. The stanza is singular in that the distinction between 'A' and 'B' is based solely upon the difference between the *rócán* and *croasántacht* measures, i.e. the fact that the latter, not requiring silent stresses at the caesura and cadence, is in effect a shorter line than the former (AMC:97):

A /Airt /óig Uí /Néill, / λ a /shadharclann is /glaine /cáil / λ
 /Ursa /chogaidh is /daingne / λ le /béim-neart is /gcríochaibh
 /Fáil, / λ
 Da /dtrialladh /Eoghan is /Féilim / λ go /héirinn /ionsair ón
 /Spáinn, / λ
 Ag /gríosú /Chonaill /Chéarnaigh, / λ go /ndéanfadh a/rís ár
 /ndáil; / λ
 Mar /Chonn na /lann i Maigh /Léana / λ ag /tréaghdadh is ag
 /cascairt /cháich, / λ
 /Amhail /Chú na /n-éachta / λ i /ngléas na /maghaí /báird,
 Le /faobhar /gearraidh /géar-lann / λ ba /thréitheach a
 /chroí 's a /lámh, / λ
 Nó gur /éirigh an /daróg /suas ar /gearrach /buaireamh a /lán.

(d) AABBC(C)

All of the remaining serial patterns attested in the sample may be divided into at least three distinct sections. In the present case (CO:59) all three elements are reduplicated, giving what appears to be a six-line stanza overall. In temporal terms, however, the stanza is a quadripartite one, the two 'B' lines taken as a unit being equiva-

lent in length to a single statement of 'A', and the repetition of 'C' probably having more to do with the air to which the stanza was sung than with any purely metrical consideration:

'A' Nuair a thagaim abhaile is mé marbh t'reís póit',
 'A' Bíonn bolta agus laiste ar an tairsigh aici rómham.
 'B' "A chuisle 's a stór,
 'B' leig isteach mé go fóill,
 'C' Táim marbh ó mhealladh mná an tabhairne,
 'C' Táim marbh ó mhealladh mná an tabhairne."

(e) 4A+2B+2C

In Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta's poem *Cruit Phádraig Mhic a Liondain* (PML:53) the same line-type (4.2) is used throughout, and 'A', 'B', and 'C' are distinguished from one another through the use of ornament alone:

'A' Cé táimse dall, de ghnáth i ndólás,
 'A' tugann tú domhsa síth is sólás,
 'A' múchann mairg is triomaíonn deora
 'A' is ardaíonn mise i ngar na córa:
 'B' acht amháin a iarraim ortsa,
 'B' iar scaradh mo anma le mo chorpса
 'C' go seinnfidh tusa ar mo uaighse
 'C' triamhain a bhainfidh deor ó ghruanna.

(f) (2A+B+2C+B) + (4D)

The most elaborate of our complex stanzaic forms--whether of the serial or of the rounded variety--appear to be the products of a brief fashion which became current among certain Munster poets of the eighteenth century, among them the likes of Seán Clárach MacDónaill, Seán ó Tuama 'An Ghrinn', Tadhg Gaelach ó Súilleabháin, Conchubhar ó Súilleabháin, Seán ó Murchadh 'na Ráithíneach', and Aindrias MacCraith 'An Mangaire Sógach'. Unquestionably the greatest of all these practitioners, however, was Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin, whose stanzas combine technical virtuosity and richness of language with strong emotional content, cast in a framework which, while on one level it may appear to contain a bewildering diversity of structures, yet manages to convey an overall sense of architectural balance and symmetry. The

following stanza from his poem *I Saxaibh na Séad* (EOS:50) displays these qualities. It may, as the formula given above suggests, be divided into two sections, each of which contains a total of thirty-two stresses (counting both stressed syllables and silent stresses), thus imparting a symmetrical shape to the stanza as a whole. This impression of unity is reinforced by the poet's characteristic choice of a very limited number of assonating vowels which he uses systematically throughout the stanza. Within this framework, however, he feels free to employ a diversity of line lengths and accentual patterns, and to allow the two sections of the stanza rhythmically to be in marked contrast with one another:

'A'	I Saxaibh na séad i gcéin óm dhúthchas
'A'	Fá bharra na gcraobh cois cé na stiúr-bharc
'B'	'S me ag machtnamh ar éag na bhflatha is na laoch
	I bhfearannaibh Chéin do túrnadh
'C'	Le danair i spéirling chongcais
'C'	Dá gcabhair cidh tréan me i bhfionntar
'B'	Ag fearadh mo dhéar go lachtmhar le léan
	Gan aiteas gan réim gan subhchas,
'D'	Do dhearcas-sa réilteann ghréagach ghreanta
	Ghlé, bhí gasta gnúis-gheal
'D'	Banamhail béasach béal-tais blasta
	Céimeach cneasta cumtha
'D'	Maiseamhail méinneach maordha measta
	Aerach aibidh umhlach
'D'	'N-a reathaibh ag téacht do b'éadtrom aistir--
	Taobh liom seal gur thúirling.

11.2.2 *Rounded forms*

'Rounded' stanzaic structures--those embodying the 'return' at the end of a stanza of a metrical pattern used earlier in the stanza--are both seemingly more popular among poets of all classes than serial forms, and are attested in greater variety in the sample. Of the 'rounded' structures which we find in the sample, by far the most popular--and the most variable--is the AABA pattern of which we earlier discussed two examples. This pattern is, in fact, the most popular of all the complex patterns, rounded or serial, accounting for over fifty examples in all.

(g) AABA

The basic characteristics of the AABA pattern may be summarised as follows:

- a) Two contrasting lengths of line appear in any one stanza.
- b) While most line-types may be used, from type 2.1 upwards, it is generally the case that the line-type associated with the contrasting section 'B' will be half the length of the line-type characterising each of the 'A' sections. Thus if 'A' contains four stressed syllables, 'B' will contain two lines of two stresses each; if 'A' has eight stresses, each line in 'B' will contain four; and if 'A' has seven stresses, each of the 'B' lines will again most likely have four--the silent stress at the end of the seven-stress line bringing the length of that line, in real time, up to eight beats.²⁰
- c) Very frequently the line-type featured in section 'B' will be rhythmically and ornamentally similar or identical to the first half of the line comprising section 'A', this 'half-line' being thus reinterpreted, for purposes of variation, as an integral line-length, while yet remaining clearly linked to what has gone before--contrast, but within a framework of continuity.
- d) The 'B' section normally consists of two consecutive lines employing this shorter line-type, making section 'B' as a whole equal in length (i.e. in number of stresses) to any of the three 'A' sections.
- e) The stanza is thus composed of four sections of equal length, and differs from an ordinary quatrain only in that the third of these sections presents rhythmical and ornamental features which contrast with those of the 'A' sections.

Within this basic framework stanzas of widely-differing colour and character are possible, as a few more examples (adding to the two we have already mentioned) will demonstrate. Here, for instance, is a stanza of a very popular type, combining eight- and four-stress line-types:²¹

- 'A' Is fada tá fuaim a' gluaiseacht eadarainn,
 A' tuar chun sparainne i gclár Uí Néill,
 'A' ó bhailtí na tuatha go bruach na farige,
 Uabhar agus eagala 'gus ár ar Ghaedhil.
 'B' Tá siosma ró-mhuar 'sa chuan so 'n-aice linn,
 An eagalais buartha ar uair an Aifirinn,
 'A' Ag sileadh na súil 'tabhairt comhairle bhúr leasa dhíbh
 Táim-se 'm chodladh nú is fíor mo sgéal.

Equally popular is the combination of four-stress and two-stress line-types, as in the following:²²

- 'A' A veacúishe Sheán ó wár a chnuic,
 'A' Er lic a tinteáin is é a ringci jig?
 'B' Mara ninhach shé gleó
 le cleagana nó,
 'A' Do hagach sa treó so ó Cheaun Tuirc!
 'R' Agus ó vean a tí, goidé 'n grúem shin ort?

Another example, using line-types 4.1 and 2.2, is representative of a number in which the prevailing rhythm is duple rather than triple:²³

- 'A' Is ar an luing seo, a Phaidí Uí Linnsigh, a bhím-se ag
 déanamh bróin,
 'A' Ag iosnaighil ins an oidhche is ag síor-ghol sa ló,
 'B' Acht anois ó dalladh m' inntleacht
 Agus mé i gciantaibh ó mo mhuintir,
 'A' Dar m'fhírinne, is maith a caoinfidhe mé i gConndae Mhuigh
 Eo.

The combination of seven-stress and four-stress lines is also reasonably popular. Here is an example employing line-types 7.1 and 4.1:²⁴

- 'A' Aryr is mé mw'änar coesh tuív fleasca 'n Ghärhig,
 Fá ghíon dili géag-ghlas am luí,
 'A' Lem häv gur hig sbérvean gur b' ívingi a särgguh
 Ná bíngcruit na néanluihi 's píb:
 'B' Á cuínliocht ví cächghiola chiés mí 's do víl
 I suíduiv á ngéar chuir tri 'm häv gheas go crúing,
 'A' Do víl mé gan fwéshav le díogarus don rélhing,
 Gur b' íving é a shcéiv is a gny.

The sample contains four examples in which three-stress and two-stress lines are combined; the three-stress lines must--like the seven-stress lines in the example just quoted--be reckoned to have a 'silent' stress at the end. Such stanzas are, on account of the short line-types employed, of very short duration; this may be responsible for the fact that in two of the four examples the AABA structure is doub-

led, giving the stanza the overall form 2(AABA), as in the following by Aindrias MacCraith:²⁵

'A' Is tréith mé seal, 'sas fann,
'A' Mo ghné do mheath do lom,-
'B' D'éalaig cnead
Is saighead 's deart
'A' Am' Aodh, am' sgairt, am' chom.
'A' Do thréig me 'sfeas mo ghreann,
'A' 'Tá 'n chléir a nearaid liom;-
'B' Is baoh mo bheart,
Is faon mo neart
'A' Do chlaon--do sgaip mo mheabhair!

Only a single example of the AABA pattern attests to the possibility of combining six-stress *rócán*-type lines with lines containing three stresses: *Aisling Chonchubhair Ui Riordain* (PPM:118). Tadhg ó Donnchadha (1925:65) cites this stanza as an illustration of a measure he calls *neamhaicleach*--a useful designation in that it draws attention to the fact that the *aicill* rhyme, usually a predictable feature of *rócán* lines, is missing here; and it could be that the poet had some borrowed (perhaps foreign?) model in mind here, and was not thinking of *rócán* metre at all. Whatever the case may be, the overall shape of the stanza adheres to the popular AABA pattern:

'A' Tráth 's tréimhse thaisdiolas,
Am thimchiollaibh saoghail;
'A' O Ráth Loirc tré gach acharan,
Go Laoi-shruith a n-éisg;
'B' Go d-tárlaidh a n-gaorthadh gleanna glais,
Na bh-feadhbha réidh nár chrapaighthe,
'A' Ba bhreághthadh sgéimh dá bh-feacadh-sa
De choilltibh na g-craobh!

The diversity of forms attested for the AABA stanza indicate that it is a type of stanzaic structure which has been popular in Ireland for some considerable time. The AABA form is, in fact, a widely-attested European song-form, adapted by practitioners in Ireland to suit their own circumstances and metrical preferences. Seán ó Tuama (1960:234-6) has argued that the form is ultimately derived from that of the *rondel*, a form practiced by French court poets. The structure

of the stanza corresponds, he tells us, to the formula $3a+b + C$, where 'C' is the refrain or *luinneog* and itself embodies the pattern $2(a+b)$. Significantly, in the *rondel* the refrain commonly precedes the verse with which it is associated, thus giving the *rondel* the form $[2(a+b)]+[3a+b]$. In time, ó Tuama's argument goes, the sense of the first section of the stanza being a refrain was lost, and each stanza began to be through-composed from beginning to end. The result would be a stanza taking the form $(ab)(ab)(aa)(ab)$ or, more simply, AABA, where the contrasting 'B' section consists of two short lines each of which is identical in form to the first of the two half-lines in section 'A'--a description which fits all of the AABA stanzas we have been examining here, whatever about its applicability in the French context.

(h) $2(2A+B) + (2A) + (2A+B)$

An important feature of the AABA stanzaic structure, and one manifested in all of the examples of that structure which we have just examined, is that all four sections of such stanzas are temporally equal, i.e. they all contain the same number of stresses, whether fully-realised or silent. There are however, a number of stanza structures, clearly derived from AABA form, in which the length of the 'B' section is either less or greater than that of the 'A' section. Consider, for example, the following stanza from *An Ciarraíoch Málaithe*:²⁶

'A' Is fada le fán mé i gclár geal Banban
 'A' gur ráiníos don bhaile a ránn siad Callainn leis,
 'B' óró, is go Caiseal na sló:
 'A' ar ráig gur casadh mé tráth sa mbaile sin
 'A' gurb é b'fhearr mar mheasaim in arán 's in airgead,
 'B' óró, is dá gcanainn níos mó!
 'A' Margadh tá dhá lá sa tseachtain ann,
 'A' aifreann gnáth le fáil ón eaglais,
 'A' a cárt 's an cnagaire lán gan dearmad,
 'A' stáidbhean chailce le fáil chun taistil liom
 'B' óró, is nár bh aitis mo sceol!

Here each of the $(2A+B)$ sections, of which there are three in all, contains a total of twelve stresses (interpreting the word *óró*, with the aid of the tune, as containing two stressed syllables). The con-

trasting section (2A), however, contains only eight stresses. This undoubtedly has all to do with the fact that the (2A+B) sections are made up of three four-stress lines, and thus cannot be handily divided in half.

(i) 2(2A) + (3B) + (2A)

Similarly, the following stanza from Tadhg Gaelach's poem *Síle Ní Ghadhra* would also appear to be a variation on the AABA pattern, containing as it does a rhythmically contrasting element in the second half of the stanza.²⁷ Here again, however, this contrasting element (3B) is not equivalent in length to the (2A) element, containing twelve stresses where the (2A) unit contains only eight:

'A' 'Se deir Domhnall ó Mordha, as é ar árd Leasa-gréine,
 'A' Gur fada tá an óig-bhean gan pósadh le Séarlas,
 'A' ó milleadh, ó leonadh, ó seoladh tar tréan-mhuir
 'A' Na feara-choin chródha de chóir-shliocht Mhilésiuis.
 'B' Lasfaimíd tóirí a dhóighfeas an saoghal,
 'B' 'S bainfimid tóirneach as crón-phoic le faobhar,
 'B' Glanfam Clár Fódhla ó na cóbaigh go léir!
 'A' Beidh slóighte ar na bóithribh go modhmharach meadhrach
 'A' Ag triall chun do phósta-sa, a Shíle Ní Ghadhra.

This stanza provides, incidentally, a good illustration of how a poet may choose to create one pattern rhythmically, while in his placement of ornament he suggests another. The same assonances appear--with one important exception--in all nine lines of the stanza, regardless of their accentual conformation, thus avoiding the ornamental contrast normally encountered in the 'B' section. The final two lines, on the other hand--representing in accentual terms the return of the 'A' section--display what was probably a quite different end-rhyme from that used in the preceding lines, *meadhrach* and *Ghadhra* being more likely to have contained a diphthong than a long /e:/ assonance.

(j) 4A + B + A

Next we may recall a stanza which we had occasion to examine earlier in our discussion of seven-stress line-types. The first two

thirds of the stanza resembles a quatrain, its lines conforming to pattern 7.1(o), while the final third consists of a single 8.1 *ochtfhoclach* unit followed by one further seven-stress line. The same assonating vowels are to be found in all lines, limiting the sense of contrast to the rhythmical sphere alone. Clearly the structure owes some allegiance to AABA form, although the proportions are not those of AABA (PPM:192):

'A' A raoir 's mé go déanach,
 Air thaobh cnoic re h-ais an Chóibh;
 'A' Do shuigh mé seal ag éisdeacht,
 Le guith na n-éan ag cantuin ceoil;
 'A' Le m' thaoibh gur dhearcas spéirbhean,
 Ba shaoimhar, snuidhte, snasda, a snógh;
 'A' 'S a dlaoi-fholt crathach péarlach
 Air fad ag téacht go h-alt na deoigh.
 'B' Ba gheal a gné
 mar shneachta sléibh,
 Ba dheas a sgéimh,
 a creat, 's a clódh,
 'A' 'S as pras do spreag ar théadaibh,
 "Leather away with the Wattle, O!"

(k) (AABA) + (2[BA]) + (AABA)

While stanzas conforming in one degree or another to the quadripartite AABA outline represent the vast majority of rounded stanzaic structures, there are a few others which cannot be so classified. In the following case, for example, the basic underlying form would appear to be ternary, the stanza being divisible into three sections, not four, each of them containing a total (including silent stresses) of sixteen stresses. Each of the outer sections conforms to the AABA pattern, while in the middle section the 'BA' portion of that pattern is repeated twice:²⁸

'A' Cé dealbh dubh mo sgéimh-chruth,
 'A' Ag taisteal triúch im' aonar,
 'B' Do theagmhaidh chugham
 i bhfearann Mumhan
 'A' i gcaiseal fionnghlas éachtach,
 'B' Carabúncaill
 neartmhar ionnraic
 'A' fleascach fiúntach féastach.
 'B' Maiseach múirneach
 leabhair lonnrach
 'A' lasmhar lúthmhar léadmhach.
 'A' Tapa túrnach tréanmhar,
 'A' Taca tionnsnach aerach,
 'B' seascach súgach
 treasach trúpach
 'A' feasach fúigtheach faobhrach.

(1) (4A) + (BBCB)

In still other stanzas the organising principle is a binary one. In the following example the 'return' is supplied by the 'B' element rather than by 'A', although in fact the difference between the two is a purely ornamental one, and they are to all intents and purposes rhythmically identical. Each half of the stanza contains sixteen stresses:²⁹

'A' Tá an Réilthean leanabach 'sa tír lastuaidh
 'A' Tá gile agus finne le fáil 'na gruaidh.
 'A' Tá a píob mar an sneachta agus í 'na suan;
 'A' 'S gur binne liom a glaodh ná géim ó'n gcuaich.
 'B' Is é mo léan gan mé agus í
 'B' I ngleanntán sléibhe nó ar mhaolchnoc fraoigh,
 'C' Mar ar bh'eol dúinn cluiche,
 Nó stró beag imirt,
 'B' A bháibín na finne, dá dtéigheadh siúd linn.

(m) (2A+B) + (2C+B)

Here also the underlying structure of the stanza appears to be a binary one, each half of the stanza (both of which contain sixteen stresses) ending in the 'B' element. The pattern could perhaps be more simply represented with the formula ABCB:³⁰

'A' Deineadh aisling araoir dom do chlaoidh go léir mé
 'A' do phreabas de thaoisc agus mé trím néalthaibh,
 'B' Sea dhearcas-sa soillse agus lasair a' líomhnadh (?)
 Ar chantainn ba chaoín' ar théadaibh
 'C' Dá spreagadh chomh binn le hao' bhean
 'C' De na starthaibh ba líomhtha léannta,
 'B' Gur bheartaigh mo chroí gurbh aingeal a bhí
 D'aththairg dom saoirse 's saorghuth.

(n) $(3A+B) + 2(A+B)$

In the following stanza (ACF:19) we see the very popular 3A+B structure used as a component in a more complex stanzaic structure. Again the overall shape is a binary one, each half of the stanza comprising sixteen stresses, with the 'B' element occurring at the end of each:

'A' Ba bhúclach péarlach cas buidhe
 'A' A dlúth-fholt léi go halt síos;
 'A' Ba tiugh mar fhéar an teas-mhaighe
 'B' A lomra-fhlíos an óir;
 'A' Bhí luisne caor 'n-a geal-ghnaoi
 'B' 'S gile na géis' 'n-a snódh;
 'A' Gluise 'n-a claon-rosc beadaidhe
 'B' 'S ba dheirge a gruadh ná'n rós.

(o) $4(A+B) + 2(3A+B)$

The following stanza (ACG:29) is also essentially binary in structure, although its length overall is twice that of any of the three previous examples. Use of the same two end-rhymes throughout acts as a unifying device:

'A' Tá Cos Locha gan pléisiúr
 'B' Ó d'éag seisean, Séamas óg,
 'A' Bláth na fola ba tréine
 'B' Agus an ceannphuir ba mhó.
 'A' Bhí an tsoineanntacht i gclár a éadain;
 'B' An fhéile ariamh 'na chroidhe is an spóirt;
 'A' Ó'n domhan go dtug sé an chraobh leis
 'B' Is níor bh'iongnadh é, ar ndóigh.
 'A' Níl píirse ar bith in néirinn--
 'A' 'Sé a mheasaim féin--i n-éifeacht
 'A' Nach dtiocfadh seal ag aedhear leis
 'B' Nó ag seilg os a chomhair.
 'A' Tá gnaoi 'gus gean Shíl éabha air
 'A' An méid mar thathuigh a thréarthai
 'A' Tá ceannas ann dá réir sin
 'B' Is urraim faoi n-a chomhair.

(p) 2(AB+BC) + (3D+C) + (EF+EC)

The above formula looks complex, and indeed the relationships between lines, particularly within sections, are subtle. The stanza is, however, rendered symmetrical by the fact that all four sections contain an equivalent number of stresses--sixteen--and the same /o:/ assonance rounds off each section (FF:149):

'A' Cois abhann Ghleann an Chéma,
 'B' In Uíbh Laoghaire seadh bímse
 'B' Mar a dtéigheann an fiadh san oidhche
 'C' Chun síor-chodladh sóghail
 'A' Ag machtnamh seal liom féinig,
 'B' Ag déanamh mo smaointe
 'B' Ag éisteacht i gcoílltibh
 'C' Le binn-ghuth na n-eón
 'D' Nuair a chuala an cath a' teacht aniar,
 'D' Agus glór na n-each a'a teacht le sians,
 'D' Le fuaim an airm do chrith an sliabh,
 'C' 'S nár mhéinn liom a nglór;
 'E' Thánadar go námhadmhar
 'F' Mar thiocfadh gárda de chonaibh nimhe,
 'E' 'Gus cumha mo chroidhe na sáir-fhir
 'C' Do fhágadar gan treóir.

(q) (3A+B) + (3C) + (2D+A+B)

Both this poem and the one following are accentually more complex than others attested in the sample, using multiple line-types and re-

interpreting those line-types in various ways to create a varied pattern. At the same time, however, the choice and careful placement of a very limited number of ornaments does much to counteract any feeling of fragmentation engendered by such accentual complexity.

In Carolan's poem *Dán-Mholadh na Gaeilge* (ACF:90), the underlying pattern revealed by the ornamentation would appear to be a ternary one, in its most basic form expressible by the formula ABA. This conclusion is based on the fact that in the first four lines, and in the last four, cadences are marked by assonating long /o:/ and long /a:/ vowels, whilst in lines 5-7 they are marked by long /i:/ vowels:

'A'	'Sí 'n teanga Ghaedhilge 's greanta cló
'A'	Go blasda léightear í mar cheól
'A'	'S í chanadh bréithre binn-ghuith beoil
'B'	'S is fíor gur mór a háittreabh.
'C'	Ní'l teanga 'r domhan dá bhreagthacht í
'C'	Le blas a's fonn nár sháruigh sí
'C'	'S go ceart do labhraid dáimhe linn
'D'	Na dánta is ceól
'D'	Do fhagháil 'na cóir;
'A'	A's seanachus na ríoghfhlaith mór
'B'	A's saoithe cródha Chláir-Luirc.

(r) [4(A+B)] + [2C+D] + [2E+FG+EG+EFG]

Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin, in his extraordinary poem *Im Leabain Aréir*, displays all the virtuosity at his considerable command in creating what is undoubtedly the most complex stanzaic structure attested in our sample (EOS:29; see also ó Donnchadha 1925:84). In spite, however, of its monumental scale and the surface complexity of the relationships between the many different line-lengths employed, it nevertheless manages to convey a deep sense of balance and symmetry in terms of both accentual and ornamental patterning. The stanza begins straightforwardly enough, with a section consisting of four binary-type eight-stress lines; this section contains thirty-two stressed syllables in all, and the lines are ornamented internally with assonating long /e:/ vowels, at the caesura with short /a/ vowels, and at the cadence with long /o:/. The second section is a single statement; it contains twelve stresses (including one silent stress), and is richly ornamented with alliteration as well as with assonating /u:/

vowels, although the final stressed vowel in the section is a short /a/. This ornament links the mid-section to the final part of the poem which, like the first, contains a total of thirty-two stressed syllables and features long /e:/, short /a/ and long /o:/ vowels in its ornamental schema. Thus in spite of the intense accentual variation which characterises the latter two sections, the listener's craving for symmetry is nevertheless amply gratified, and the structure may in the most general sense be seen ultimately to derive from the basic ternary pattern, ABA:

- 'A' (a) Im leabain aréir trím néall do dhearcas-sa
 (b) Ainnir ba mhaordha taitneamhach clódh
 (a) 'N-a seasamh lem thaobh 's í craorach geanamhail
 (b) Béasach béal-tais banamhail óg;
 (a) Ba casta cas craobhach dréimreach fada tiugh
 (b) Bachallach léi-se ó bhaitheas go bróig
 (a) A carn-fholt néamhrach péarlach camarsach
 (b) Slaodach faon 's é daithte mar ór;
 'B' (c) Bhí luisne tré lonnradh an lile 'n-a gnúis ghil
 (c) Shoineanta shúgaigh chlúmhaíl mhúirnigh
 (d) Mhodhmhaíl mhiocair mhaiseamhail;
 'A' (e) A claon-dearc réidh-ghlas féig ler trascradh
 (e) Na céadta laoch i bpéin 's in ana-bhroid,
 (f) A braoithe mar ribe
 (g) 'S a séis ba séimhe 'ná fionna-chruit cheoil;
 (e) A haol-chrobh néata ghléasas beanna-phuic,
 (g) Éist is éin, coin alla agus leoghain,
 (e) Crainn, barc dín is coimheascar machaire,
 (f) Tuitim Chloinne Uisneach
 (g) Is éacht na Féinne ar leathan-bhrat sróill.

11.2.3 Summary of complex stanzaic forms

I. serial forms

- (a) 3A+B
 (b) 4A+4B
 (c) 7A+B
 (d) AABBC(C)
 (e) 4A+2B+2C
 (f) [(2A+B) + (2C+B)] + [4D]

II. rounded forms

- (g) AABA
- (h) $2(2A+B) + (2A) + (2A+B)$
- (i) $2(2A) + (3B) + (2A)$
- (j) $4A + B + A$
- (k) $(2A+B) + (2B) + (2A+B)$
- (l) $(4A) + (BECB)$
- (m) $(2A+B) + (2C+B)$
- (n) $(3A+B) + 2(A+B)$
- (o) $[4(A+B)] + [2(3A+B)]$
- (p) $2(AB+BC) + (3D+C) + (EF+EC)$
- (q) $(3A+B) + (3C) + (2D+A+B)$
- (r) $[4(A+B)] + [2C+D] + [2E+FG+EG+EFG]$

11.3 Supra-stanzaic organisational devices

It has occasionally been remarked that, while Irish verse may to a considerable degree be classified according to thematic criteria as love poetry, vision poetry, lament, satire, praise poetry and so forth, it is less easy to categorise it on purely metrical grounds. True, certain categories of verse do sometimes share similar metrical characteristics: one thinks, for example, of the many laments (*caointe*, *tuirimh*, *marbhnaí*) composed in paragraph form; or of the fondness for accentual *crosántacht* metre shown by some practitioners of the *barántas*. It is, however, also true to say that the discipline of a fixed supra-stanzaic form does not--with one notable exception--appear to have attracted Irish poets to the extent that some English poets, for instance, were tempted to try their hand at the sonnet or the Pindaric ode.

This is not to say that Irish poetry is in any way deficient in structural unity: far from it. Just as the vast preponderance of English verse relies for its coherence on continuity of stanzaic structure, ornament, and tone, rather than upon any artificially-imposed formal unity, so also is the best Irish poetry given structural integrity through the use of the same accentual patterns and ornaments

throughout, while in even the most basic popular verse the stanzas are knitted together by their general adherence to the same line-type and by their thematic and tonal unity.

In what remains of this chapter I should like briefly to examine two devices which can, to a large extent, be seen to contribute not so much to the integrity of the line or the stanza, but rather to that of the poem as a whole. The first of these devices is that of the refrain--not so simple a proposition as one might assume, as refrains in the Irish context may be variously constituted. Secondly we shall consider the function of the *ceangal* (it goes by other names as well), one or more stanzas at the end of a poem in either accentual or syllabic metre, which is normally in metrical contrast to preceding stanzas. In this latter connexion we shall also consider the practice of the one *forme fixe* cultivated by Irish poets, in which the number of stanzas preceding the *ceangal* verse is fixed at three.

11.3.1 Refrain structures

For purposes of our discussion here we are classifying as 'refrain structures' any structural feature within a poem in which the same word or words are repeated, either after each stanza in the poem, or at parallel positions within the stanzaic structures. Four basic types of refrain are distinguished:³¹

- R(1) : A single word, phrase, half-line, line or other fraction of a stanza-length, repeated at the end of each stanza, without being integral to stanzaic structure.
- R(2) : A complete stanza-length, identical metrically to other stanzas in the poem, repeated between successive stanzas.
- R(3) : A complete stanza-length, repeated between successive stanzas, of which the stanzaic structure, rhythm, or line-length differs from that of other stanzas in the poem.
- R(4) : A word, phrase, or line integral to stanzaic structure which remains the same or markedly similar from stanza to stanza.

Type R(1). Refrains of this type may, as we just indicated, be of any length shorter than a complete stanza, and stand independent of the stanzaic structure. The shortest refrains to be found in Irish verse are those consisting of the ejaculations *Is m'ochón / Is iombó / Agus siambó / 'San bó leo / 'San Bóileo* and so forth, as in the following:³²

Éirigh, a mhná, ó gach aird de dh'éire
 agus teannaidh bhur bpáirt gan spás le chéile,
 greadaidh bhur lámha is na gártha géara,
 nó go ngoilfidh sibh an bás sin Phádraig Fléimeann.
Is och! ochón!

The most common refrain of type 1 consists of a single line which is repeated following each stanza. Curiously a number of our examples appear to be drawn from only two models, leading us to assume the existence of a popular song-model in each case. According to one of these models the refrain-line is something like *ó bhean an tí, cad é 'n bhuairt sin ort?*; we saw an example of a stanza followed by a version of this line earlier, in our discussion of AABA verse.³³ The other model is that of the song of which the refrain is something like *Gheobham arís an crúiscín is bíodh sé lán*, as in the following:³⁴

Is fada mé 'r a mwailli sho im chónuí er sráid,
 A ràiduireacht 's a meala ban 's ig ól dí ar chlár;
 Nuer a veasan mná an wàilli sho mo fócuí vè lán,
 'S aul' a víon a taingish eadaruing, is fóryr atá!
Is fwaym irish a crúishcín, is bíoch shé lán!

In a half-dozen examples the refrain is greater than one line in length, but yet fails to equal the length of the non-refrain stanzas in the poem. In some cases, as in the following, part of the refrain consists of meaningless vocable syllables:³⁵

Dá bhfeictheá an *magpie* a' teacht ó Mhíniúta
 Trí cinn dho shean-chapaill aige dhá múnadh,
 Cnoc Fhinn a' tafann mar mhadadh le dúbhchas
 Go bhfaghadh sé cead buachailleacht míoltóga Ghualaim.
Manglaimín--deabhdaró--deabhdaró dílis ó,
Corruigh do chos agus teanam a' rinnce liom.

We should stress that our conclusion that refrains of this type should not be considered as integral to verse-structure is based upon metrical evidence alone: if musical factors were taken into consideration

we should most likely have to come to a different decision. The evidence of songs presently in the traditional repertoire which employ the refrains *ó bhean a' tí...* and *Gheobham arís an crúiscín...* indicates that the airs to such songs normally contain five lines rather than four, a fact which would suggest that we should perhaps consider such refrain-lines as integral to verse structure after all. On the other hand in songs like *An Seandúine Dóite*--which, like the last example quoted, employs a two-line refrain--the refrain element is sung to a repeat of the last two lines of the air to which the quatrain is sung, the air being musically complete after four lines. The problem is illustrative of the need to distinguish between what James Ross has termed 'poetic metre' and 'song metre' (1954:217-9). We shall have more to say on this subject in our final chapter, but for the moment suffice it to say that in such circumstances it has been our practice uniformly to rely upon the evidence of verse alone, without reference to musical considerations.

Type R(2). This type of refrain consists of a complete stanza, constructed on the same metrical model as the verse, which is repeated between each of the verses and at the end of the poem. In many cases this arrangement presupposes the same air used for both verse and refrain, although in some instances it would appear that a second strain may be sung to the refrain, giving rise to a musical unit comprising both verse and refrain.

Most commonly this type of refrain is found in the context of couplet or quatrain structures employing four-stress lines, as in the following:³⁶

Seóthó, a thoil! ná goil go fóill,
 Do gheóbhair gan dearmad taisce gach seoid
 Do bhí ag do shinnsear ríoghdha romhat
 I néirinn iath-ghlas Chuinn a's Eoghain.
 Seóthó, a thoil! ná goil go fóill,
 Seóthó, a leinbh, a chumainn 's a stór,
 Mo chúig céad chumha go dubhach faoi bhrón
 Tú ag síleadh na súl 's do chom gan lón!

There are also a number of examples in which the basic stanzaic form is a quatrain or couplet employing seven-, eight-, or--as here--six-stress *rócán* lines:³⁷

Shiúbhail me-si Eire fá dhó,
 A's Móta Ghráinne óig ag filleadh dhamh;
 Iongnadh ní fheacas ba mhó
 'Na buachaill na m-bó gan gimléatt.
Fíll! Fíll! a rúin! O!
Fíll, a rúin O! A's gairim thu.
Fill! Fill aruín O! [sic]
Agus gheabhaidh tu an ghlóir má thuilleann tu.

Finally, three items in the sample show how this type of refrain may be based upon a 3A+B structure, using line-types 4.2/3.2. The best-known example is *óró, 'Sé do Bheatha Abhaile*:³⁸

Sé do bheatha, 'bhean ba léanmhar,
 Do b'é ár gcreach thú bheith i ngéibhinn,
 Ár ndúthaig bhreágh i seilbh méirleach
 Díolta leis na Gallaibh.
óró! Sé do bheatha 'bhaile
Bhfearr liom thú ná céad bó bhainne
óró! Sé do bheatha 'bhaile
'Nois ar theacht a' tsamhraidh.

Type R(3). In the case of refrain type 3 we must, in most cases, assume that the musical material used for the refrain differs in some important fashion from that employed with the verse, thus creating a single musical unit from two metrically separate entities, verse and refrain. In most cases of this type, the difference between the verse and refrain structures is one of stanzaic form, a quatrain form being used for the verses and a more complex structure for the refrain. In the following famous example, for instance, the stanzas are quatrains composed of four-stress lines, while the refrain takes the form AABA:³⁹

Bímse buan ar buaidhirt gach ló,
 Ag caoi go cruaidh 's ag tuar na ndeór
 Mar scaoileadh uainn an buachaill beó
 Is ná ríomhtar tuairisc uaidh mo bhrón!
Isé mo laoch, mo ghile mear!
Isé mo Shaesar, gile mear!
Ní fhuaras féin an suan ar séan,
ó chuaidh i gcéin mo ghile mear!

In another example (IPS:86), the quatrain is composed of five-stress lines, while the refrain consists of four- and three-stress lines arranged in the pattern ABC:

A bharc b'anam thú a n-anacair na d-tonnarach n-ard,
 Cáisg cobhartach gidh budh barbhardha trom é an lá,
 Tráth lasaidh an fhairge ó bhonn go bár,
 Lán coirn dhí ní ghabhan o stiuir go crann!

A bár a lán, a bár a lán

A ghrádh na rún, a chuid de'n t-saoghal,

A lán--'s í an bád breádh seoil!

In still other cases both verse and refrain structures may be complex. *An Páishtín Fionn*, for example, employs a 3A+B structure for the verse, while the refrain corresponds to the pattern ABAB:⁴⁰

Grá lem anam mo fáishtín fiún,

A cruí 's a haigini gáirí liúm,

A cíocha geala mar bláh na núl,

'S a píop mar eala lá Márta!

Is tusa mo riún mo riún, mo riún,

Is tusa mo riún is mo ghrá gheal,

Is tusa mo riún 's mo chumwan go búan,

'S mo chreach gan tús 'gam ód wáirhín!

In the song *Conndae Mhuigh Eó*, the verse employs the AABA pattern and the refrain AABB; in addition, the rhythmic character of the lines, which in the verse is clearly duple, changes to triple in the refrain:⁴¹

Bhí dhá dhúil 'san imirt agam, agus trí dhúil 'san ól,

Is an áit a mbíodh na cailíní ba mhian liom 'bheith 'na gcómhair.

Bhí dhá rogha is fiche 'gam

Bhí Neillidh Bhán is tusa 'gam,

ó slán agus beannacht leat a Chonndae Mhuigh Eó.

Shiubhail mise shoir agus shiubhail mise shiar,

Shiubhail mise Doire, agus cuid do Bhaile Átha Cliath,

Acht samhail do mo chonndae ní fhaca mé go fóill,

ó slán agus beannacht leat, a Chonndae Mhuigh Eó.

In *Aililiú na Gamhna* (ND 3:60), both verse and refrain take the form of quatrains composed of four-stress lines. The difference between them is that the verse is triple in rhythm, while the refrain contains a significant number of quadrisyllabic feet and is thus duple in character:

Tráthnóinín aoibhinn 's mé thíos cois na buaile,
cé chasfaí aníos chúm ach smíste duine uasail,
d'ardaigh sé síos mé go híochar na buaine
is d'fhág sé mo chroí agus m'intinn go buartha.

*Aililiú na gamhna, na gamhna bána,
aililiú na gamhna, na gamhna b'iad ab fhearr liom,
aililiú na gamhna, na gamhna geala bána
na gamhna maidin shamhraidh ag damhsa ar na bánta!*

Succeeding verses of this song gradually adopt the duple rhythmic character of the refrain to a greater or lesser degree. A. M. Freeman cites two tunes to this song, both unquestionably duple in character, even in the setting of the verse quoted here (Free.:251-2). In an Ulster setting of the song, *Na Gamhna Geala* (ACU:76), the musical setting is again duple, but rhythmical elasticity within the musical phrases mitigates against any strong impression of rhythmical beats, such as is conveyed by the verse on its own.

Finally we have in the song *Seán Mhach Aoidh* (ACU:56) an example in which musical structure reinforces a rather irregular metrical feature in the poetry. The verse is a couplet composed of two 8.1 lines; the refrain conforms to pattern ABAB, the 'A' lines containing four stresses, and the 'B' lines five:

éirigh, Shinid cuir síos a' scillid
as teana 'shuipéar do Sheán Mhac Chaoí,
Chan éir'ghim ars Sinead, tá poll air a scillid
a's leigfeadh sé suipéar a duine bhoicht fríd.

*Whip! Radaire gan múineadh gan mhúineadh,
whip! Radaire, gan mhúineadh, Seán Mhac Chaoí,
Whip! Radaire gan múineadh gan mhúineadh
whip! Radaire gan mhúineadh, Shéin Mhic Chaoí.*

The result is, of course, that the refrain contains two more fully stressed syllables than does the verse, a feature which is reflected in the musical structure of the refrain, in which the second line, 'B', contains three bars of six-eight time, as opposed to only two in the case of line 'A'.

Type R(4). There are a number of examples in our sample which make use of what we may call 'internal' refrain structures: words, phrases, or lines integral to the stanzaic structure of the verse which are repeated in identical or very similar form in every stanza. The principal function of such elements, as of all refrain structures, is that of providing continuity, an unchanging thread running through the fabric of the poem from beginning to end. They may, however, serve other functions as well, such as that of helping to mark stanzaic boundaries. In the simplest case, the final line of the stanza may remain the same from verse to verse:⁴²

Bhí mise lá's mé ag siubhal taobh na Carraice,
Nuair a casadh damh 'n Bháb agus clóca beag geal uirthi;
Leag mé mo lámh ar a brághaid le gean uirthi,
Tá mé 'mo chodladh, 's má tá níl néal.

In more complex stanzas, the refrain element may be used to mark the boundaries between the various structural components. In *An Ciarraíoch Mallaithe*, for example, we may recall the word *óró* which signals the final element in the 'A' component in the stanza's modified AABA structure (see above, p. 292). In the following stanza the same function is performed by the lines containing the words *bán-chnoic éireann óigh'*:⁴³

Beir beannacht óm' chroidhe go tír na héireann,
Bán-chnoic éireann óigh';
Chum a maireann de shíolradh ír a's éibhir
Ar bhán-chnoic éireann óigh';
An áit úd 'nar bh' aoibhinn binn-ghuth éan
Mar shámhchruit chaoín ag caoineadh Gaedheal--
Sé mo chás a bheith míle míle i gcéin
Ó bhán-chnoic éireann óigh'.

In other examples, the alternation of lines of 'text', so to speak, with refrain lines appears to have not only a demarcative function, marking important terminal points within the stanza, but it also has the function of filling out the stanzaic structure of the verse, allowing a complete stanza to be composed using very little new material. This may be particularly desirable in the case of a narrative song, where one wishes to advance the story one unelaborated step at a time; and in fact most of the examples from which the remaining R(4) illustrations are drawn have substantial narrative content. The

first of these is a song whose ancestry Seán ó Tuama has suggested may be quite venerable. In it a single line of text alternates with a line of refrain in a clearly-defined call-and-response pattern:⁴⁴

Bhí mise lá amháin ag dul go toigh tóraidh
 Cuacha lán de bhuidhe
Cé casadh orm acht gruagach cinn-órdha.
 Cuacha lán de bhuidhe

"Ar é de' stoigh, caidé mar tá tú?"
 Cuacha lán de bhuidhe
"Char thatnuigheann le mo charaid, is maith le mo námhaid"
 Cuacha lán de bhuidhe.

Those familiar with British ballad tradition will recognise the technique as similar to that used in ballads like *The Cruel Mother*:⁴⁵

She sat down below a thorn,
 Fine flowers in the valley;
And there she has her sweet babe born,
 And the green leaves they grow rarely.

Smile na sae sweet, my bonie babe:
 Fine flowers in the valley;
And ye smile sae sweet, ye'll smile me dead.
 And the green leaves they grow rarely.

In other cases the same sort of alternation occurs, with the difference that the refrain appears in alternate phrases or half-lines, rather than alternate lines:⁴⁶

A bhean uaidh thall, a thíogadh,
Atá ag siubhal 'na trágá, a thógadh,
Nach truaigh leat bean ag cealgadh ceoigh?
'Sí dul d'a báthadh, maille leo!

This song--a version of the international ballad *The Two Sisters* (Child 10)--is of course not native to Ireland, having been imported from Gaelic Scotland, where structure of this type is a familiar feature of waulking-song texts in particular:⁴⁷

A bhean ud thall, hù gó
an cois na tràghad, hù gó
Sin do chas dhomh, hao rí ho ró
sin do lámh dhomh, hù gó.

This form, and the one preceding, exemplify a basic call-and-response pattern known throughout the world, in which the refrain elements are

normally performed by a chorus--as is true in the case of the waulking songs to this day. In the Irish context, however, both text and refrain would be sung without accompaniment by a solo singer, there having survived very little, if any, evidence for choral singing in Gaelic Ireland.

We come finally to an example in which the refrain element appears to constitute the greater part of the stanza, with only a line or two changing from verse to verse. The stanza is characterised by a great deal of repetition, both within the refrain elements and within those parts of the stanza which change from verse to verse:⁴²

Cá rabhais ar feadh an lae uaim, a *bhuachaillín* ó?
Cá rabhais ar feadh an lae uaim, a *laoigh ghil* 's a *stór*?
A' fiadhach 's a' foghlaeracht, a *mháthairín* ó,
Agus cóirig mo leabaidh, táim breoidhte go leór.

Here again, of course, we have an international ballad text, that of *Lord Randal* (Child 12). Structural similarities between the Irish and Scots versions are as striking as the textual ones:⁴³

Oh where ha' you been, *Lord Randal my son*?
And where ha' you been, *my handsome young man*?
I ha' been at the greenwood; *mother, mak my bed soon,*
For I'm wearied wi' hunting and fain wad lie down.

In the light of the foregoing evidence tending to suggest that the use of internal refrains may be associated to some degree with songs of a character outside the Irish mainstream--such as the considerable number of narrative songs we have cited--it may in conclusion be appropriate to reopen the case of *Eibhlín a Rúin*. There are, of course, two songs using the refrain *Eibhlín a rúin*; the following is representative of the metrical pattern contained in the earliest manuscript versions:⁵⁰

Dhéanfainn an Aoine leat, a *Eibhlín*, a *ruain*,
Dhéanfainn an Aoine leat, a *chuid an tsaoghail* 's a *stór*,
Dhéanfainn an Aoine leat, agus throsgfainn a' Féile Brighde leat,
Le súil is go mbéinn i gcleamhnas leat, a Eibhlín, a ruain.

Alan Bruford has asked a pertinent musical question in this connexion: 'Perhaps the Irish tune is older than the Scots *Robin Adair* [virtually the same air, used by Burns]; but is it older than the Scottish Gaelic

Caidil go ló...which was the source of the Scots song?'⁵¹ Certainly the high degree of repetition used in this poem, not a characteristic that one normally associates with high love-poetry in Irish, would seem to suggest the possibility of a non-native model. The subject could well repay further investigation.

11.3.2 *Ceangal* verses

While refrains of one sort or another serve to maintain a sense of continuity throughout a poem, the device of the *ceangal* verse functions in such a way as to impart a sense of finality to the poem as a whole. Generally the *ceangal* stanza (normally there is only one, although in odd cases there may be two or more) recapitulates or summarises arguments set forth in preceding stanzas of the poem; offers advice to a patron or other person on an appropriate course of thought or action; or invokes divine aid or intervention in some situation that, in the eyes of the poet, can be redeemed in no other fashion. Such stanzas are often apostrophic, calling on some person, if not by name, then by the use of the pronoun *tú*; similarly, the deity or some other religious figure may be invoked by name. *Ceangal* verses also frequently take a rather high moral tone, pointing out the injustice or otherwise unacceptability of some feature of contemporary life or human behaviour. In this, of course, the tone of the *ceangal* is generally that of the poem as a whole.

Ceangal verses generally differ metrically from preceding stanzas in a poem, although our sample contains two examples of what we may call *trí amhrán agus amhrán* in which both verses and *ceangal* employ the same line-type (see §11.3.4[iv] below). The difference may be the obvious one of an accentual metre in the *ceangal* as opposed to a syllabic one in the preceding verses: about two-thirds of our examples embody this particular contrast, and it is this fact which no doubt accounts for such stanzas frequently being designated *amhrán*, for their employment of a so-called *amhrán* metre rather than a syllabic one. In other cases, where the main body of the poem is in an accentual metre, the *ceangal* may employ a line-length in contrast to that used in preceding stanzas. The five-stress line-type is to a consid-

erable extent favoured for *ceangal* verses, but there are a number of such verses employing accentual *crosántacht* and other line-types as well. Our sample contains no example of a *ceangal* in a syllabic metre, as these are only to be found in the context of purely syllabic verse.

There is no particular metrical feature of *ceangal* verse which sets it apart from other verse employing the same line-types, accentual patterns, and ornamental schemata. Indeed, we have already cited a number of *ceangal* verses in the course of our scrutiny of the various line-types; and it could reasonably be argued that our discussion of *ceangal* verse could end here. If, however, we might be permitted a brief historical digression, there are some aspects of *ceangal* verse which might repay further consideration.

In *An Grá i nAmhráin na nDaoine* Seán ó Tuama has established the likelihood of thematic as well as metrical features of Irish love poetry being to some extent indebted to the practices of the court poets of medieval France. Some of his arguments we have had occasion to refer to already. One aspect of versification to which he seemingly did not address himself, however, was that of the *ceangal* verses. I believe that, had he done so, he might have considerably strengthened his argument.

The fact is that troubadour and trouvère poets commonly employed a device very similar to that of the *ceangal* in Irish--similar, that is, in tone and function, but differing in metrical terms. In the hands of the troubadour poets of the twelfth century, this device took the form of a stanza, employing the same metre as preceding stanzas, but containing fewer lines. The ornamental pattern employed in this shorter stanzas normally echoed that of the last lines of the preceding stanza: therefore, if the penultimate stanza contained, for example, six lines, and the final stanza four, these four lines would carry the same ornamental pattern as was present in the last four lines of the previous stanza. The effect must have been similar to that of a repeated cadence in music; and indeed it is highly probable that this closing stanza would have involved the repetition of previously-heard musical material as well. Here, by way of illustration,

are the last two stanzas from a poem by Piere d'Auvergne, who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century (Press 1971:92-3):

Quar er m'abelis e m'es bel
Qu'el mieu joi s'enant la jovens;
E s'ieu ren dic que lur an enviro,
Aisi m'en gic, c'uns gaugz mi creis doblers
D'un dous espic, qu'es joios consiriers,
Don m'an amic hueimais li mal e.ill bo.

D'aisi.m sent ric per bona sospeiso
Qu'en joi m'afic e m'estau volentiers;
Et ab joi pic e gaug mos deziriers,
Et ab joi pic e gaug vueill: Dieus lo.m do!

[For now it is fine and pleasing to me that in my joy youth is exalted; and if I say anything which might go against them, I here abjure it, for a twofold joy accrues to me from one sweet bud; that is, joyous thought by which, henceforth, both good and bad have me for a friend.

Hence I feel rich on account of good hope, for in joy I trust and willingly dwell; with joy I peck at and relish my desires, and with joy I peck, and enjoyment I wish for: God grant me it!]

In the thirteenth century, trouvère poets like Adam de la Halle and Jehan Bretel followed a similar procedure. Here are the last three verses of the poem *Jeu-Parti entre Jehan Bretel et Adam de la Halle*, showing that on occasion there may be more than one of these closing stanzas:⁵²

Sire, Amour trouvai quisant,
Quant je le soloie anter,
En villier, en desirrer,
En penser et en doutant;
Mais point n'estes d'amour bien embrasés,
Pour chou n'i cuidiés point tant de durtés.

Ferri, on trueve lisant
Que tant de mal n'a pas li condampnés
Con a de joie ichil qui est sauvés.

Grieviler, en aquerant
Est chascuns plus traveilliés et penés
Qu'il ne soit au despendre reposés.

[Sire, when I frequented the paths of love, I suffered torments, sleepless nights, desires, thoughts and doubts. It is because you are not enflamed with love that you cannot believe in its tribulations.

Ferri, we read in books that the condemned man does not suffer as much pain as he who is reprieved suffers joy.

Grieviler, he who works to acquire wealth suffers more pain than he who spends suffers pleasure.]

Metrically, then, these closing stanzas present a limited contrast to what has gone before; and in this respect they recall the principal metrical distinction of *ceangal* verse, although in the latter case the contrast is more marked and of a different character. Thematically, however, these closing stanzas in troubadour and trouvère poetry share a number of characteristics with later *ceangal* verse in Irish. One of the strongest similarities is to be seen in the use, in both types, of apostrophe. Here, for example, is a stanza by the troubadour Giraut de Borneil, in which he tells his *jongleur* (an itinerant minstrel whose function may have been something like that of the *reacaire* in Ireland) to take his message of love to its object (Press 1971:136-7):

Joglars, ab aquestz sos noveus
T'en vai, e.ls portaras de cors
A la bela cui nais ricors;
E digas li qu'eu sui plus seus
Que sos manteus!

[Minstrel, with these new tunes be off, and you'll bear them swiftly to the fair one in whom greatness is born; and tell her that I am more hers than her own mantle!]

Compare this with the following by the Co. Louth poet, Risteárd Taath (d. 1736), who gives thanks to a priest when returning a bible he had been lent. The bible, like the *jongleur* in the previous example, is directly apostrophised, and instructed to carry a message to the person being praised (R agus A:61):

A leabhair le Dia 'na bhfuil ciall is gliocas na bhfáidh,
Tabhair don Athair 'Liam go riaghalta mo bheannacht le grádh,
'S aithris do shíor dá dtriallfadh chugainn fó Cháisg,
Go bhfuigheamuis-ne biadh don bhfial 'na choinne fó chnáimh.

Similarly, the loved person may frequently be addressed directly rather than through a messenger, as in another example by Giraut de Borneil (Press 1971:132-3):

Domna valens, vostra valor
E vostre pretz e vostr' onor
Poiaz totztems e valetz mais,
Per qu'eu vos sui fis e verais.

[Worthy lady, your worth and your merit and your honour you
always enhance and increase in worth, wherefore I am to you
noble and true.]

Compare this with the following two-stanza *ceangal* by Séathrún Céitinn
(ND 1:16):

A fhinnebhean tséimh shéaghanta shárchaoín tsuairc
na muirearfholt réidh raonfholtach fá a ndíol gcuach,
is iongnadh an ghné thaomannach fhásaíos uait;
gé doiligh an scéal, tréig mé agus táig dhíom suas.

Do-bheirimse fém bhréithir dá mbáití an slua
san tuile do léig Vénus 'na táclai anuas,
a bhurraiceach-bhé mhéarlag na mbánchíoch gcruaidh,
gur tusa mar aon céidbhean do fágfaí im chuan.

Or with this rather simple stanza which brings to a close an anonymous
trí rann agus amhrán composition (ND 1:41):

A róise bheag mhodhmhar is snasta guth cinn,
is glórmhar do cheólra ar maidin 's is binn;
is mór meas do mhodha-sa dá n-aithris dar linn,
is más só leat mo phógsa biaidh sí agad gan roinn.

Another feature common to both medieval French poetry and Irish
ceangal verses is their tendency to embody prayers of one sort or an-
other. Here is the closing stanza of a poem by the troubadour Arnaut
Daniel, in which the poet invokes God's intercession in his hopeless
love affair (Press 1971:182-3):

Mil messas n'aug e.n proferi,
E.n art lum de cer' e d'oli
Que Dieus m'en don bon issert
De lieis, on no.m val escrima.

[A thousand masses I hear and offer for it, and for it I burn
lights of wax and of oil, so that thereby God grant me suc-
cess with her where no striving avails me.]

In another stanza the poet, Thibaud de Champagne, calls upon the Vir-
gin Mary to protect those embarking upon the Crusade of 1239 (Bossuat,
30; see n. 52 above):

Douce dame, roïne coronee,
Priiez pour nos, Virge bone eüree!
Et puis après ne nos peut mescheoir.

[Sweet Lady, queen enthroned, pray for us, blessed Virgin!
After that no evil may befall us.]

Similarly, Irish poets have been known to end their poems with an invocation of God's name, and a plea that He may have mercy upon the Irish, as in the following *ceangal* by Fear Dorcha ó Mealláin (OT:108):

A Dhia atá fial, a thriath na mbeannachta,
féach na Gaeil go léir gan bharanta;
má táimid ag triall siar go Connachta,
fágmaid 'nár ndiaidh fó chian ar seanchairde.

Aindrias Mac Craith's petition is of a rather more personal nature:⁵³

Féach an t-aspol do pheacuigh fá thrí ar dtúis
Ag séanadh a Charad gur glacadh arís go humhal;
A Dhé dhil aitchim, cé scaras le dlighe na nórd,
Mar aon le Peadair an Mangaire scaoil it dhún.

In other cases the prayer takes the form of a blessing, the poet calling upon God to show favour upon the person being praised--or upon that person's soul. The following, by Séamas Dall MacCuarta, comes at the end of a poem in praise of a bishop who may have exerted influence in Co. Louth (SMC:53):

Beannacht an Choimhdhe chumhachtaigh charthanaigh chaoimh,
Beannacht na n-ógh, na n-ord, na n-apstal is na naomh,
Beannacht na hóighe phós sé, banríon na n-aingeal,
Don phaitriarc óg le dtógfar peaca dár dtír.

Dáibhidh ó Bruadair, on the other hand, invokes God's blessing on the soul of a departed friend (DOB:16):

Go gcastar le chéile me féin is mo chompánach,
mádh fada mo ré béad céasta díoghbhálach,
ó theastaidh uaim féin an té seo i n-úir saithte
mo bheannacht chum Dé leat, a chéile chaoín náirigh.

11.3.3. *Trí rann agus amhrán*

In the fourteenth century a new literary movement in France led to the development of new poetic forms, among them the *rondeau*, the *virelai*, the *chant royal* and--perhaps significantly from our point of view--the *ballade*. The *ballade*, like the other *formes fixes*, had its origins in earlier court poetry: the name apparently derives from the Provençal *balata*, and would seem to have originated as some sort of dance-song. In the fourteenth century, however, the length of the poem became fixed at three stanzas followed by a refrain; and later still, from the time of Eustache Deschamps (b. 1346), the refrain element was replaced by a shorter stanza, in which the rhyme-scheme duplicated that of the second half of the longer verse. This closing stanza for the first time received an official designation: it was called *L'envoy*, literally 'the sending', by which the meaning of the poem was directed to someone in particular, frequently a ruler who was addressed simply as 'prince' (Bossuat, 81). Here is an example of a *ballade* by Deschamps which tells the story of the mice who wanted to bell the cat (Bossuat, 86):

Je treuve qu'entre les souris
Ot un merveilleus parlement
Contre les chats leurs ennemis
A veoir maniere comment
Elles vesquissent seurement
Sanz demourer en tel debat;
L'une dist lors en arguant:
'Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?'

Ciz consaus fu conclus et pris;
Lors se partent communement.
Une souris du plat pais
Les encontre et va demandant
Qu'on a fait. Lors vont respondant
Que leur ennemi seront mat.
Sonnette avront au cou pendant:
'Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?'

'C'est le plus fort', dit an rat gris.
Elle demande saignement
Par qui sera cis fais fournis.
Lors s'en va chascun excusant:
Il n'i ot point d'executant,
S'en va leur besoigne de plat.
Bien fut dit, mais, au demourant,
'Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?'

L'envoy

Prince, on conseille bien souvent
Mais on peut dire, com le rat,
Du conseil qui sa fin ne prent:
'Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?'

The *ballade* appears to have enjoyed a considerable vogue not only in France but also in England. The eminent American Chaucerian scholar, F. N. Robinson, points out that

The metrical form which Chaucer chiefly employed in his later lyrics was the *ballade*. In origin a dance-song, the *ballade* came to be written in various measures and stanzaic arrangements. In Chaucer's hand it usually consisted of seven-line or eight-line stanzas, followed by an *envoy*. In substance, very commonly, the *ballade* was a love-lyric. But its uses, like those of the English sonnet in the time of Milton, were extended to cover a great variety of subjects, conspicuously by Chaucer's French contemporary, Eustache Deschamps, who wrote innumerable poems of the type dealing with moral philosophy and social satire. In treating a similar range of subjects, in his later *ballades*, Chaucer may have been consciously following Deschamps' example (Robinson 1957:521)

In Chaucer's *ballades* the *envoy* is generally identical in length and metre to all of the other stanzas, and is only set off from them by its characteristic use of apostrophe, by its sense of summarising or recapitulating what has gone before, and by its rather admonitory or didactic tone. Here is an example of one of Chaucer's best-known *ballades*, *Lak of Stedfastnesse* (Robinson 1957:537, 862). Note that in his use of the same words at the end of every stanza he creates an effect uncannily similar to that achieved by Deschamps in the previous example:

Somtyme the world was so stedfast and stable
That mannes word was obligacioun;
And now it is so fals and deceivable
That word and deed, as in conclusioun,
Ben nothing lyk, for turned up-so-down
Is al this world for mede and wilfulnesse,
That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse.

What maketh this world to be so variable
 But lust that folk have in dissensioun?
 For among us now a man is holde unable,
 But if he can, by som collusioun,
 Don his neighbour wrong or oppressioun.
 What causeth this but wilful wrecchednesse,
 That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse?

Trouthe is put down, resoun is holden fable;
 Vertu hath now no dominacioun;
 Pitee exyled, no man is merciabile;
 Through covetyse is blent discrecioun.
 The world hath mad a permutacioun
 Fro right to wrong, fro trouthe to fikelnesse,
 That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse.

Lenvoy to King Richard

O prince, desyre to be honourable,
 Cherish thy folk and hate extorcioun!
 Suffre nothing that may be reprevable
 To thyn estat don in thy regioun.
 Shew forth thy sword of castigacioun,
 Dred God, do law, love trouthe and worthinesse,
 And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse.

Irish *trí rann agus amhrán* verse shares a feature in common with French *ballades* in its embodiment of a metrical contrast between *rann* and *amhrán*--a distinction which Chaucer, at least, appears to have done away with. This structural similarity is reinforced by thematic correspondences. Consider the following, which in its expression of the poet's hopeless ardour rivals any product of the traditions of the *amour courtois* (ND 2:9):

Is tairis linn do theacht dár dtír,
 a úrchnis chaoimh na gcamchiabh tais;
 bheith dhuitse, más fíor do chách,
 deirid go brách nach ligim a leas.

Is cuma liom--beadsa dhi,
 cibé sam bióth thiocfas as;
 beidh m'ansacht aici d'aimhdheoin cháich,
 cuirim i gcás nach ligim a leas.

Cuirim i gcás nach ligim a leas,
 beadsa choíche i gceasnaí bróin
 go bhfaicfe mé cúl na sreabh
 fúmsa seal ar an gcaoi chóir.

Is í Síle, mar shaoilim, í droim ar ais
d'fhág saoithe na críche uile sa gceas;
is díth liom is mé ar siabhra buile dá searc
gur saothar saoire mo shuíre is nach ligim a leas.

Or the following famous poem in which Séamas Dall MacCuarta makes an example of a family who commit what is a cardinal sin to this day in much of Ireland, in their failure to show hospitality to the blind poet (ND 2:17):

Uaigneach sin, tithe Chorr an Chait,
is uaigneach a bhfir is a mná;
is dá bhfaighdís ór is fíon
cha dtig aon díobh i gceann cháich.

I gceann cháich cha dtig siad
ar ar cruthaíodh thiar is thoir;
ar ar cruthaíodh ó neamh go lár--
ionann sin is béasa an bhroic.

Béasa an bhroic bheith ag tochailt faoi
i ndorchadas oíche is lae;
ar ar cruthaíodh ó neamh go lár,
i gceann cháich cha dtig sé.

Ní hionmhuin leis a ríbhroc aoibhneas, aiteas, ná spórt,
ní hionmhuin leo saoi, ná draoi, ná cumadóir ceoil,
ní hionmhuin leo Séamas caoch ná cuidiú Néill óig,
is fanadh gach aon mar a mbíd ag tochailt an phóir.

This poem is, of course, a satire, and one which is part of a long tradition of Irish poetry castigating lack of generosity to poets. In the wider sense, however, it can be seen to use humour to make a serious observation about human folly, in much the same terms as those Deschamps used in his version of the parable about the mice who wanted to bell the cat.

The difficulty one must have in establishing a relationship between the *ballade* and *trí rann agus amhrán* is, of course, that of dating. Colm Ó Baoill and Cathair Ó Dochartaigh have recently concluded that the latter form may have been 'invented' in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as the earliest recorded examples of it are to be found in RIA MS 23 D 4 which was written around the year 1681.⁵⁴ They suggest that the model for *trí rann agus amhrán* may have been the English sonnet, in combination with 'the native type we call nR+A--

i.e. syllabic poem of any length with *Amhrán/Ceangal* at the end'.⁵⁵ They stress that their conclusions are speculative, given the lack of hard evidence of the connexion, and the fact that there appear to have been no sonnets composed in English between 1650 and 1750. Even so, they argue, the function of the *amhrán* may be seen to be similar to that of

'the post-*volta* part of the English sonnet. There are cases where the *Amhrán* (like the end of the sonnet) may be validly said to provide an alternative viewpoint or thought on the subject of the *Rainn*...; and there are cases where the *Amhrán* simply summarises the theme of the *Rainn*; but in the great majority of cases, we reckon, the only significant change after line 12 is the metrical one.'⁵⁶

Certainly the sonnet, on the face of it, would appear to be a logical choice if one is looking for an explanation of the *trí rann agus amhrán* anomaly--for anomaly it surely is in the context of Irish verse as a whole. Not only was the sonnet practiced at a date nearer to that of the beginnings of *trí rann agus amhrán* (if ó Baoill and ó Dochartaigh are correct in concluding that the earliest manuscript attestations are to some extent contemporaneous with the form's invention), but the sonnet can be seen to resemble the *trí rann agus amhrán* in other ways, such as in the overall number of lines (14 for the sonnet, 16 for *trí rann agus amhrán*) and in the fact that a metrical contrast is built into the end of the poem. At the same time it would be wrong to overlook the similarities between the French use of the *envoy* and the Irish use of the *ceangal* that we have been exploring above, and for this reason it may also be unwise to dismiss out of hand the possibility that the Anglo-French *ballade* compositions may at one time have made their presence felt in the context of Anglo-Norman verse in Ireland. The English sonnet was undoubtedly inspired by the Italian sonnet; but who can say that the form did not find readier acceptance among English poets as a result of its structural resemblance to the *ballade*--both sonnet and *ballade* representing recognisable manifestations of the 3A+B structure which we have hitherto seen attested in European (including Irish) linear and stanzaic structures? Lacking hard evidence it is tempting to 'play safe' and put the date of *trí rann agus amhrán* no further back than its first written attestation. Against this, however, one may argue that--just as *amhrán* verse in

Irish must surely antedate its first appearance in a manuscript by some considerable time--the prototypes for *trí rann agus amhrán* (possibly a form in which all verses may have been in accentual metre?) may be unrecorded in manuscript collections for social reasons, the form's eventual appearance in such collections only coming about when it had acquired enough 'literary' characteristics to render it socially acceptable.

One not insignificant fact uncovered by ó Baoill and ó Dochar-
taigh is that the earliest datable examples of *trí rann agus amhrán*--
in fact, all but one of the eight attested before 1700--are of Munster
origin, not Ulster as might previously have been assumed. Given that
Munster was the province of Ireland where the influence of Anglo-Nor-
man culture was felt most strongly, the significance of the emergence
in that province of the one *forme fixe* to have been espoused by Irish
poets, and of its structural resemblance to a form practised among
Anglo-French poets during the period of the Anglo-Norman cultural as-
cendancy, should not be dismissed too lightly.

11.3.4 Summary of ceangal verses

1) syllabic verse (any structure) + *ceangal*

Éad Chlochair le hArdmhach (DCCU:158)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Tuar guil, a cholaim, do cheol (OT:22)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Beannaigh an Longsa (ND 1:10)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Cumadh an Cheoil (SMC:47)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Páis Chríost (SMC:50)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Don Easpag ó Siail (SMC:53)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Beannacht leatsa, a leabhráin (R&A:63)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Fáilte romhad (R&A:63)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
A bhean lán de stuaim (ND 1:16)	leathrannaíocht mhór:5.1
Rainn Fhir an Éada (ND 1:42)	deibhí:5.1
D'aithle na bhfileadh (OT:116)	rannaíocht bheag:5.1
Léigheas an ghúta (DCCU:266)	rannaíocht bheag:4.1
Litir dá chairdibh gaoil (DCCU:427)	rannaíocht mhór:4.1
An Díbirt go Connachta (OT:108)	rannaíocht mhór:4.3

Mairg nach bhfuil 'na dhubhthuata (OT:114)	ae freislighe:4.3
A fhir éadmhair 'ga mbí bean (OT:12)	rannaíocht mhór:4.2

ii) *Trí Rann* (syllabic) agus *Amhrán*

An Lon Dubh Báite (ND 2:16)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Failte don éan (ND 2:17)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Na Ceithre Criocha Déanacha (ND 2:25)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Gearrán Bhriain Uí Bheirn (SMC:44)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Tithe Chorr an Chait (ND 2:17)	rannaíocht mhór:5.1
Na Féilte Muire (SMC:21)	séadna:5.1
Le linn uaisle (R&A:57)	séadna:5.1
Art Mór ó Murchaidh (DCCU:423)	deibhí:5.1
Doicheall (ND 1:35)	rannaíocht bheag:5.1
Eilís (ND 2:9)	rannaíocht mhór:4.1
Róise (ND 1:41)	rannaíocht mhór:4.1
Ma's trí rainn (R&A:65)	rannaíocht mhór:4.1
Goineadh mé (R&A:66)	deibhí:4.1
Na Táilliúirí (AMB:36)	rannaíocht bheag:4.2
Mairgnidh an Chait (R&A:68)	rannaíocht mhór:4.3
An Da Sheán (POD:33)	deibhí:6.1
Moladh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta (PML:12)	deibhí:6.1
Moladh Phádraig Mhic a Liondain (PML:13)	deibhí:6.1
Freagra Pheadair Uí Dhoirín (PML:14)	deibhí:6.1

iii) accentual verse (any structure) + *ceangal*

Tuireamh na Meisce (CB:87)	34.2/5.1
Tuireamh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta (PML:39)	34.2/5.1
Do frith, monuar (OR:11)	34.2/5.1
An Síogaí Rómhánach (OR:32)	34.2/5.1
An Diarmaid Cas Mac Airt (Bar.:49)	4.2/5.1
Gile na Gile (FF:29)	4.3/5.1
An Brannda (PPM:236)	6.1/5.1
Uaill Chumhaidh an Mhangaire Sógach (IPS:72)	6.3/5.1
De bhrí gach réabadh (Bar.:69)	6.2/5.2
A Bheith na Lúb (DOB:70)	7.3/5.1

Créacht do dháil mé (DOB:48,50)	4.2/6.1 & 5.1
An Deirdre dheaghnuiseach (ND 1:44)	4.2/6.1
Tá ábhar gáire agam (AMB:44)	4.2/6.1
Tuireamh na héireann (OR:81)	34.2/4.2
Scéal do Scaoil (DOB:16)	34.2/4.2
Do chuala scéal (ND 1:34)	4.2/7.2

iv) *Trí amhrán agus amhrán*

An Conach (AMC:99)	5.1/5.1
A Ghalien Thairis (AMC:100)	5.1/5.1
A Phádraig Chaoimh (DCCU:358)	8.1/5.1
Ar an Ath. Aodh ó Maolagáin (DCCU:359)	8.1/5.1
Do'n Ath. Séamus ó Dubhthaigh (DCCU:355)	8.1/5.1
Do'n tSagart Chéadna (DCCU:357)	4.2/8.1
A Ghaoidhilge Mhilis (R&A:26)	4.1/8.1
Oíche Shamhna ar an Fhairrge (DCCU:435)	4.2/7.2
Ar Shéamus ó Ceallacháin (DCCU:32)	8.1/4.1

11 : NOTES

1. OR:36, ll. 25-37. The other four political poems in Miss O'Rahilly's edition are likewise in 34.2 *caoineadh* metre, as are three poems in the sample by Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondáin, *Brian ó Cuagáin* (PML:24, ll. 52ff.), *Tuireamh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta* (PML:37) and *Tuireamh Cháit Béilín* (PML:40). In addition, see *Mallacht ar Dhúiche Ara* (DO:68), *Caoineadh don Tiarna Cuffe* (DO:51), *Eachroim* (ND 2:2), and *An Mheisce* (DCCU:284).
2. ND 2:31. See also *Barántas Scríofa* (Bar.:57), *A Chreagáin Uaibhrigh* (DCCU:28), and *Eachtra 'n Aere* (Breat.:237).
3. ó Madagáin 1978:31.
4. In Scotland the performance of *orain luaidhe* demonstrates that it is indeed perfectly possible to sing verse composed in extended paragraphs. To my knowledge, however, no such performance has so far been attested for similar verse in Irish.
5. See, for discussion, Haüblein 1978:Ch. 1-2.
6. Grout 1973:40. See also Spink 1967:Ch. 1.
7. ó Tuama 1960:305-21.
8. See *An Tionónta* (ND 2:1), *Uaill-Chumhaidh an Mhangaire Sugaich* (IPS:68 or ó Foghludha, *Éigse na Maighe*, 196), *Amhrán na Bradaíle* (ND 1:44) and *Gaeil bhochta na glanáille* (ND 1:57). In all of these stanzas double ornamentation in the cadence creates a pleasantly ambiguous effect.
9. *Caoineadh do ghabha ó Ciarraíoch* (DO:56 and notes); the metre is not *rosc*, as the editor claims. ó Doinn's assertion that the poem is an *ex tempore* composition is probably justified; certainly the two stanzas embody much the same sort of formulaic language as one finds in traditional *caointeoireacht*. Such language is, indeed, found in lament-songs as well; compare the following quatrain from the well-known Connacht lament, *Donncha Bán* (OT:338):

A Dhonncha Bháin, a dheartháirín dílis,
is maith atá a fhios agam siúd a bhain díom thu--:
ag ól an chupáin, ag deargadh an phiopa,
's ag siúl an driúchta i gcoim na hoíche.

The other two poems in this category are *Caoineadh do Bhantiarna Bhuiltéar* (DO:50) and *Dá mbeinn i gCeanannas* (DO:64). The latter poem is not, thematically, a lament, although there can be little doubt that it is composed in *caoineadh* metre. It was composed by a person whom Seán ó Doinn describes as 'the only male keener at wakes I have ever heard of' who was known as Nioclás 'An Chaoin-teacháin' Breathnach (DO:119).

10. AMC:118. In another version of this poem (ACU:78 and notes) oral transmission has resulted in stanzas of irregular length; as Colm

ó Baoill points out, this fact must have had interesting musical consequences.

11. Prof. Gillies suggests a sensible emendation in the second line of v. 2: *a /chathaoir na /heagna 's na /humhlaidh/eacht'*.
12. Sisam 1970:235. See also Häublein 1978:25-7.
13. See, for example, Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondáin's lament for Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta (PML:39), and Fearghas Mac Bheatha's lament for Mac Giolla Fhiondáin (PML:3). In both cases the *annálach* contains not one but two quatrains--a fact with some significance in the present context.
14. For fuller discussion of AABA form see §11.2.2[g] below.
15. A great many editors since ó Donnchadha's time appear to have relied solely on ornamentation as an indication of structure. Indeed, ó Donnchadha himself was capable of this error, as we saw earlier in our discussion of his analysis of a stanza by Tadhg Gaelach (see above, p. 21). Editors should endeavour not to lose sight of the fact that 'ornamentation' is just that: a device intended to highlight some feature within the accentual structure of the stanza. If the occasional poet chooses to create one pattern rhythmically and another ornamentally, this does not justify us ignoring either pattern in favour of the other; to do so may place us in danger of failing to appreciate the subtle interplay between the two patterns which would have formed part of the artistic intention of the poem.
16. *Do shiúlaigh mise an Mhumhain Mhín* (OT:142); see also *Mo Theaghlach* (ACF:58), *Amhrán an Téi* (AMS:45); *An Fia Mór Fáin* (Gunn:32), *Tá mo chleamhnas déanta* (AMS:130), *Tá muc air a' mhargadh* (ACU:66), *A Mháire na gCarad* (ACF:62), *'Á mbeinn phéin i náirdí Chuain* (DCCU:194), *Hó! Ró! Do bhuig a Shéaghain!* (ACU:95), *An Páishtín Fiún* (Free.:285), and *An Sárú* (MMS:92), all of which are based upon line-types 4.1/3.2; also *óró! Sé do bheatha 'bhaile* (ACF:28), which is based upon line-types 4.2/3.2.
17. *Tá mé 'mo chodladh* (DCCU:54); see also *Blúire* (CO:58), of which three stanzas end with the line 'Beidh mise 'mo chodladh 's an chúis dá pléidhe'. Both of these poems are related to a number of others of more complex structure which utilise a similar refrain-line; see n. 21 and discussion below. Other stanzas based on line-types 4.3/4.1 include Aodh Mac Domhnaill's poem *Heistí Hó Chathail Mhic an Deirg Mhic Luirc, agus mar a tharlaidh an geancanach dó ag cúl lios a' phúca* (DCCU:257), and *I mBéal Feirste Chois Cuain* (ND 2:65), both of which recall the first part of *An Ciarraíoch Mallaithe* (see below n. 26); also *Na Prátaí Dubha* (DD:19, vv. 1,3,4).
18. *Mo shlán chun a' bhaile* (CM:29, v. 1). The other two stanzas of this poem are differently constructed: v. 2 conforms to the pattern AABA, and v. 3 to the 3A+B pattern, differing from the present example in 'B' being both rhythmically and ornamentally set off from 'A'.

19. These 3A+B structures, like the shorter *ochtfhoclach* ones, are often to be found in combination, either with other such 3A+B structures or with structures of different character. See discussion of the 2(3A+B) stanzas in previous chapter (§10.4.1[c] and [d]); also various rounded patterns discussed below.

20. The only line-types seemingly not used in these AABA stanzas are those of the six-stress *croisantacht* type, and those containing five stressed syllables. In the former case we may assume that the line's clearly-articulated three-part structure would make a division of the line into two parts--for the 'B' lines--very awkward. In the case of the five-stress line-types, one might suppose it possible for a line of five stresses (or six, including the silent stress) to be used in section 'A', section 'B' then containing three stresses in each of its two lines. The difficulty with this, however, is that each of the two three-stress lines in 'B' would in reality contain four stresses, counting a silent stress at the end of each. This would result in a 'B' section of eight stresses, rather than six, and would not represent a satisfactory arrangement.

21. *Táim-se am chodladh* (ACF:199). This song resembles a number of others, all presumably drawn from the same model and sung to the same tune; many of these contain similar wording in the last line. Compare *An Bata* (DD:83), *An Chúis dá Pléidh* (Raf.:240), *An t-Orangeman* (DCCU:42), *Pléaráca na bPollán* (DCCU:287), *Tránhóinín déanach a téacht coesh leasa ghom* (Free.:110), and examples mentioned in n. 17 above which exhibit a simpler stanzaic structure. See also other examples based on line-types 8.1/4.3: *Inghean Uí Gheairilt* (CAS 4:23), *An Sheanduini* (Free.:286), *An Staicín Ornan* (Free.:241); on line-types 8.1/4.2: *Beannacht is Buadh Dé* (LD:no. 34), *In aimsir fearthainne* (RB:80), *An Díbirteach ó Éirinn* (LD:no. 15), *Do rinneadh aisling bheag aerach* (EOS:74), *Ceol an Phíobaire* (DG:23), *A Ghochtúir Dílish* (Free.:273); and on line-types 8.1/4.1: *Cnocáinín Aiting* (Free.:318, v. 2), *I gCaol-Doire Chraobh Chluthair* (EOS:32), *An Shaunvean Vocht* (Free.:186).

22. *Sheán ó wár a chnuic* (Free.:260); the refrain is not to be analysed as integral to stanzaic structure. Note that in this stanza the two two-stress lines in 'B' correspond rhythmically but not ornamentally to the first half of the longer line. The sample contains three other items seemingly taken from the same model: *A Chuisle mo Chroidhe* (ACF:69), *Cuisle na héigse* (PPM:60), and *An óg-Chearc Ghuir* (ACF:44).

23. *Caipín Bruadar* (ACG:5). See also *Maidin Luain Cingise* (ACF:6), *Tomás Mhac Filibín* (ACG:111), *Ciach ar na bairnigh!* (ND 3:14), *Píopa Andy Mhóir* (CO:65), and *Eibhlín a' ruain* (CO:131). Examples in triple rhythm using line types 4.1/2.2 include *Aisling an Athar Pádraig Uí Bhriain* (PPM:260), *Aisling Chonnchubhair Uí Shuillíobhain* (PPM:254), and *Freagra dhonnchadh Uí Shuillíobhain air Chonnchubhar* (PPM:258); the latter two, at least, would appear to be drawn from the same model.

Other examples of AABA structure using four- and two-stress line-types include the following employing types 4.1/2.3: *Cá*

raibh tú ó mhaidin? (CO:54), Máire Ní Mhaoileoin (OT:316), Mo Mhalaigh Bheag ó (DCCU:383; both this song and the preceding one are versions of the same narrative, although the relationship between them would be difficult to define with any certainty), Atá páircín bheag agamsa (ACU:178); types 4.2/2.2: Giolla na Péice (RB:77); types 4.2/2.3: Préachán Chill Chainnigh (DO:38), Sicíní Bhrighid éadhuinn (ACG:32, v. 2), and An Pótaire ag Moladh an Uisge Beatha (Raf.:153).

24. *Aryr is me 'mw' änar* (Free.:274). Tadhg ó Donnchadha quoted this stanza as an illustration of a stanza-form he calls *trí cheathrú ochtfhoclaigh* (1925:66). See other examples based on line-types 7.1/4.1: *M'Uilleagáin Dubh ó* (ND 2:35), *Plúirín na mban donn óg* (ACF:60), *Ban-Chnuic Éireann Oighe* (FF:99); on types 7.2/4.1: *Do hugus grá cléiv ghoet* (Free.:295), *Cnocáinín aerach Cill Mhuire* (LD:no. 67); and on types 7.2/4.3: *Sgéimh Rinn na Feirsde* (Iorr.:218).
25. *An Aindir Aluin* (IPS:144 and ó Donnchadha 1925:72); see also *Mailsín Chnuic an Easa* (CO:42). In the other two examples the AABA structure is not doubled: see *Aisling Aoidh Mhic Dhomhnaill* (DCCU:226) and *Moladh Shliabh Shionnacháin* (DCCU:335).
26. ND 3:55. The ornamentation and internal rhythmic patterning of this stanza are, of course, more complex than the formula suggests, but to include such detail in the formulaic representation would be to obscure the basic character and symmetry of the stanzaic structure. This is not to say, however, that the analyst should fail to show his appreciation of such detail in his account of the stanza. Two other poems in our sample appear to be drawn from the same model as *An Ciarraíoch Mallaithe*: see *Á Leanfainn tú...* (DO:85) and *Sealad Aréir* (FF:29); see also n. 17 above.
27. DG:67; see also ó Donnchadha's analysis (1925:70). Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin appears to have used this poem as a model for his own composition *Slán chum Carraig an Éide* (EOS:94), with the difference that in that poem all of the 'A' segments carry the same ornaments. Another poem whose structure may be described using the same formula is *An Rábaire Gabhann* (ACG:52, v. 3).
28. *Seana-Chúirt na nDéise* (LD:no. 5). Raftery's poem *An Cíos Cat-oilceach* (RAF.:58) also seems to be based on an underlying ABA structure, although in that case the 'A' sections contain sixteen stresses, while the 'B' section has only twelve.
29. *An Réilthean Leanabach* (AG:59). Both this stanza and *Rosc-Catha na Mumhan* (FF:40) would probably fulfil ó Donnchadha's conditions for the form he calls *an luinneogach* (1925:67). In the latter poem the accentual structure is identical to that of the example shown here, but the ornamentation would justify the formula (4A)+(AABA).

30. *Deineadh aisling araoid dom* (CM:22); see also *Bé 'n éirinn í* (IPS:152). This structure is classified by ó Donnchadha as *leath ochtfhoclaigh* (1925:66).

31. The designations R(1), R(2) etc. are also used in the appendices to identify items in the sample which possess a refrain. In his discussion of carol forms R. L. Greene distinguishes, as we do here, between the type of repeated element which is integral to the stanza, and that which 'does not form any part of a stanza, but stands wholly outside the individual stanza-pattern' (1935:cxiv); the former type he calls the 'refrain', the latter the 'burden'.

32. *Marbhna Phádraig Fléimeann* (ND 2:55). See also *Art ó Ceallaigh* (CO:40), *Briseadh Eachdhruim* (DCCU:22), *Cois Chalaith an Ghóilín* (ACF:212), *Ar an dtaobh thall de'n Ghóilín* (ACF:26), *An Corrán* (DD:45), *Tá Bearad i Londain* (FF:43), *Máirseáil an tSáirséalaigh* (ND 2:4), and *Máire Ní Chinnfhaolaidh* (DO:79). Seán ó Tuama (1960:224) links vocables of the *iom bó agus um bó* type to French exemplars.

33. See above, n. 22.

34. *An Crúishcín* (Free.:269). See also *Maidin Aluinn Gréine* (ACF:50), *Gheobham airís an crúiscín* (ACF:76), and *An Crúiscín Lán* (ACF:204). Similarly structured, but using different refrains, are *An óg-Chearc Ghuir* (ACF:44), *Dá mbeinnse ar meisge* (CO:75), *Bainne 'Dhuibh na Féile'* (CO:67), *Bó Bhodhar Bhalbh* (CM:20), and *An Bás agus Seán an Chomhradha* (Iorr.:220)--this last item uses two different refrain lines, depending on whether 'an Bás' or 'Seán' is speaking.

35. *Amhrán Bréagach* (CO:85). *Túirne Mháire* (ACF:214) and *An Banbh* (ACF:52) are similarly constructed, and also make use of meaningless syllables--although in these latter cases they are of the English-derived 'rites fol de oh' variety. See also *An Crúiscín Lán* (ACF:204), which also possesses a type 1 refrain, *Mo Sheandúine Dóighte* (DCCU:277), and *'Á mbéinn phéinn i náirdí Chuain* (DCCU:194).

36. *Seóthó, a thoil* (FF:121). See also *Níl Shé 'na Lá* (Free.:257), *Is deas an buachaill Páidín* (ACF:167), *Air bharr na g-cnoc 's an ime g-céin* (IPS:54), *Dúlamán* (ACU:53), *An rabh tú 'gCill Dara?* (ACU:51), *Bó na Leah-Ayircí* (Free.:244), *An Táilliúir Aerach* (AG:62), *Raithíneach, a bhean bheag* (ACF:40), *Samhradh* (ACF:10)--this last also incorporates a type 4 refrain. In *Rosc-Catha na Mumhan* (FF:40) minor changes are made in the refrain from verse to verse, but the impression that it is a refrain nevertheless remains.

37. *Móta Ghráinne óig* (IM 1:194). The same refrain, with only minor differences, is used in the song *Doimnic ó Dónaill* (CCU:15). See also *Chan fheil agam acht scadán amháin* (ACU:50), *Táim i n-Arrears* (AG:53), *Rinnce Philib a' Cheoil* (LD:no. 59), *Mal Bhán Ní Chuilleanáin* (CCU:66), *An Réice Táilliúra* (Gunn:40). Examples based on seven-stress lines include *An Síoda 'tá it bhaillet?* (ACF:132), *An Caitín Bán* (AMS:87), and *An Maidrín Rua* (CAS 1:4);

- and on eight-stress lines *Bímish ig ól* (Free.:321), *An t-Ubhal* (CAS 1:17), and *Ceann Dubh Díleas* (DG:39).
38. ACF:28. See also *Mo Theaghlach* (ACF:58) and *Hó! Ró! do bhuig a Shéaghain!* (ACU:95).
 39. *Bímse buan ar buaidhirt* (FF:36). See also *Do chuirfinnse féin mo leanbh a chodladh* (ACF:192), *Eoghainín ó Ragadáin* (CT:46), *Gheobham airís an crúiscín* (ACF:76), *An Túirnín Lín* (ACF:82), and *Slán le Máig* (ACF:112).
 40. *An Páishtín Fiún* (Free.:285). See also *Máire na gCarad* (ACF:62).
 41. *Conndae Mhuigh Eo* (DCCU:390). Subsequent verses of the poem do not maintain the AABA structure, and the final stanza contains two extra lines--probably as a result of two verses being conflated in the singer's memory. It is also worth noting that two out of the three stanzas also feature a type 4 refrain which goes *Slán agus beannacht leat a Chonndae Mhuigh Eo*.
 42. *Tá mé 'mo chodladh* (DCCU:54). See also *Mealladh mná an tabhairna* (CO:59), *Tránhóinín déanach a téacht coesh leasa ghom* (Free.:110), *Fá dtear mo mhúirnín fháinnigh* (ACU:86), and *I mBéal Feirste Chois Cuain* (ND 2:65).
 43. *Bán-chnoic éireann óighe* (FF:99). See also *An Ciarraíoch Mal-laithe* (ND 3:55), *Pléaráca na bPollán* (DCCU:287), *An t-Orangeman* (DCCU:42), *A Ghochtúir Dílish* (Free.:273), *Inghion an Phalaitínigh* (ACF:116), *Plúirín na mBan Donn óg* (ACF:60), *Sealad Aréir* (FF:29), *Ciach ar na bairnigh!* (ND 3:14), *'Á leanfainn tú...* (DO:85), and *Ceol an Phíobaire* (DG:23).
 44. *Cuacha Lán de Bhuidhe* (ACU:49). This song is also found with the refrain *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn*; see *Samhradh* (ACF:10) and discussion in ó Tuama (1960:233-4). Other examples: *Seo hú leo* (ACF:196), *A bhean úd thall* (DG:12)--these two are both variants of the same song, of which a fuller version is *An Shoheen Sho* (ILM:109)--*Caoineadh na dtrí Muire* (ND 3:21), and *Deirín Dé* (DG:11). All of these, with the exception of the last, may in one way or another be considered narrative songs.
 45. Kinsley 1969a:68.
 46. *A bhean ud thall, a thiogadh* (ACU:81). In all other stanzas the meaningless words *a thiúirí ceoigh* replace *ag cealgadh ceoigh* in the third line. Presumably *ag cealgadh* represents an attempt to make these words mean something definite in the context of the song; similarly, a version recorded recently in Donegal changes the refrain element of the last line, *maillí leo*, into a place name, *Baile Leo* (Hugh Shields, *Folk Ballads from Donegal and Derry*, Leader Records LEA 4055). Other examples of this structure include *Mo Mhalaigh Bheag ó* (DCCU:383) and *An Cailín Doun Deas* (Free.:267). All three of these are narrative songs.
 47. Craig 1949:1. For discussion of the connexion between the Irish and Scottish versions, see Bruford 1972-3:13-18.

48. *Táim breoidte go leor* (ACF:36). See also *Súbháilcí na Maighdine Muire* (ACU:91). Both of these are narrative songs.
49. Kinsley 1969a:243.
50. CO:131. This stanza is clearly a descendent of the versions cited by R. A. Breatnach (1940b:208-12). Similar versions include those beginning *Seolfainn féin gamhna leat* (DG:28, ND 3:38). Seán ó Tuama suggests that the metrical form ultimately derives from that of the *rondel*, a form used among French court poets in the 13th-14th centuries (1960:234-7). His French examples, however, display none of the repetitive character that we find such a curious feature here. There is, of course, another song called *Eibhlín a Rúin*, which Hardiman reports was composed by 'a Munster bard, of the seventeenth century, who endeavoured to excel, by profusion of poetic embellishment, the original and sweetly simple song of Eileen a Roon' (IM 1:328; song text 210). The stanzaic structure of this song is more complex than that of the earlier one: rather than simple AABA form (to be precise 2[A+B]+2A+[A+B]) we here have AABABA (2[A+B]+2[3A+B]); and repetitive elements have been largely cut back.
51. Bruford 1972-3:9. See also Kinsley 1969b:554; and Hardiman's sturdy defence of the air's being Irish rather than Scottish in origin, in which he hedges his bets by asserting that 'Robin Adair' was a Wicklow man and sat in the Irish parliament (IM 1:328-9).
52. Bossuat, 30. My English translation is based on the editor's translation into modern French.
53. *ó Foghludha, Éigse na Máighe* 198. This edition has been quoted in preference to the one in the sample (IPS:72).
54. Both of these scholars have been kind enough to share with me the fruits of their research on this topic, the subject of a book which is still in the press. My references to their work are based upon two letters written to me by Dr ó Baoill in October 1983 (after the book had gone to the printer) and upon a number of conversations with Dr ó Dochartaigh since 1980.
55. Letter from Dr. ó Baoill, 10 October 1983.
56. Letter from Dr. ó Baoill, 17 October 1983.

12 : ORNAMENTATION

12.0 Ornamentation has undoubtedly received more attention from scholars than any other aspect of accentual versification in Irish, even if most of them--with, of course, the exception of Tadhg ó Donnchadha--have not so much sought to understand how the ornamental system of the verse actually operates as simply to identify those assonantal vowel ornaments used in a given stanza, as part of their gesture towards providing metrical analysis. The explanation for this may be that, ornamentation playing the crucial structural role that it did in the context of syllabic verse-forms, scholars assumed that it served a similarly vital function in that of the accentual metres. They were probably encouraged in this assumption by their belief that accentual verse practices were themselves derived from those of the syllabic poets--a belief held to this day by some scholars. And as we have seen, editorial practice in our own time reflects the assumption that a summary of the assonantal features of a single line or stanza is all that is required for adequate metrical analysis.

While wishing in no way to deny the importance of ornament in defining the essential character of Irish accentual verse, I have been at some pains in preceding chapters to emphasise the priority of the accentual system of the verse over the ornamental system; that is, the importance of an accentual pattern to the aural perception of an utterance as verse, rather than as prose. The hearer may, in fact, recognise as verse, or as potential verse, an utterance which contains no ornament whatsoever. Consider, for example, the following parody of a limerick, which works as verse because of the regularity of its rhythmical patterning, and in spite of the deliberate avoidance of end-rhymes:

There was a young man from Tralee
Who was stung on the neck by a wasp.
When asked 'does it hurt?'
He replied 'Yes it does,
But I don't think he'll do it again.'

Clearly, while we might feel that this effort would be substantially improved by the addition of some rhymes (not to mention a more amusing punch-line), it is nevertheless undeniably verse, not prose. A similar effect may be obtained in Irish. Imagine the following short conversation between two people, the accentual form of which is modelled upon that of a well-known popular song:

'Dúirt sé go dtiocfadh sé ar ais anocht.'
'Dúirt, agus tá mé 'dul a fhanacht leis.'
'Slán agus beannacht libh uilig, mar sin.'
Táimse 'mo chodladh 'gus ná dúistear mé.

Again, while this is quite appalling as poetry its rhythmical properties clearly require us to classify it as an attempt at verse, rather than as prose. If, however, we attempt a similar exercise based upon one of the syllabic metres the result is much less clearly identifiable as verse. In the following quatrain I have attempted to conform to the syllable-counting and accentual requirements of *deibhí* metre, but any ornamental correspondence to that form is quite fortuitous:

Táimid ag fanacht ar Sheán
Níl 'fhios againn cá bhfuil sé:
Muna dtagann sé anois
Ní bheidh aon dinnéar fágtha.

Any impression of poetry which one may obtain from this quatrain--if, indeed, any such impression is to be obtained at all--must result from accentual correspondence at the ends of lines ac and bd; it does not result to any extent from the fact that the stanza is composed of heptasyllabic sense-units.

For the purposes of our discussion here we shall define 'ornament' as any feature, whether assonantal, alliterative, or rhythmical, which enhances the structural integrity of the basic accentual pattern, but which is not itself essential to the perception of that pattern as verse. We shall consider initially the relationship between the position in which an ornament is found and its importance in defining verse-structure; secondly we shall summarise those types of ornament functioning in the context of Irish

accentual verse; and finally we shall briefly evaluate the usefulness of these ornamental features to those interested in further literary or linguistic analysis.

12.1 Position and function of ornament

While it may be possible, as we have just demonstrated, for an utterance to be perceived as verse on the basis of its rhythmical patterning alone, it is nevertheless the case that Irish accentual poets, as much as those operating in the syllabic metres, have considered ornament an essential feature of their art. For although a strong rhythmical pattern may be sufficient to distinguish verse from prose, ornamental features play an often crucial role in aurally distinguishing the important boundaries within verse-structure.

The most obvious case in point is that of stanzaic structure. To a very great extent Irish poets indicate the end of one stanza and the beginning of another by a change in the ornamentation affecting the final stressed syllable of the line, normally an assonantal vowel. By the same token, consecutive lines ending in the same ornamental feature may generally be taken to belong to the same verse paragraph or stanzaic unit. If such ornamentation were lacking it would not be possible aurally to distinguish one stanza from another--and we must, of course, not lose sight of the fact that Irish accentual verse is by and large intended for an aural rather than a written medium.'

End-rhyme (or perhaps more properly 'end-assonance') is, in fact, the principal means of indicating stanzaic structure in Irish verse, and there are items in our sample which consistently employ no other ornamental feature. Admittedly these are few, and many of them employ the borrowed so-called 'ballad' metre, but they include some of the most popular song texts to be found in the gaeltacht today. A good example is *Amhrán na Trá Báine* (ND 3:16), which employs unambiguous internal ornament in only two of the first eight lines:

/Faraor géar nár /cailleadh mé an lá ar /baisteadh mé go
 /hóg,
 sul má /fágadh 'mo chadhan /aonraic mé gan /feithide an
 bhéil /bheo,
 níl /deartháir a'm, níl /deirfiúr a'm is /níl mo
 mháithrín /beo,
 tá /m'athair bocht lag /aosta is, a /Chríost, cé hionadh
 /dhó?

Mo /mhallacht do na /curacháí is mo /bheannacht do na
 /báid,
 mo /mhallacht do na /curacháí atá /thall sa Trá /Bháin,
 's iad a /bhain mo cheathrar /dearthár dhíom a raibh
 /feilm acu /ann,
 's nach /cuma leis an /gCeallach é ós é /féin atá ina
 /n-áit.

Such absence of internal rhyme is not, however, altogether confined to poems in ballad metre, but may be found in other forms as well. It would seem probable that this may be the result, in many cases, of natural erosion occurring during the process of oral transmission, and it may not represent the poet's original intention. Here, for instance, is the first stanza of *Máirseáil an tSáirséalaigh* (ND 2:4), which contains no consistent internal ornament at all, notwithstanding a suggestion of alliteration in one or two places:

Thug sinn an chéad bhriseadh ag bruach na Bóime
 an dara briseadh ag Móta Ghráinne Óige,
 an tríú briseadh in Eachroim Dé *Domhmaigh*,
 buaileadh buille dhruma linn is cha mhór a bhí *beo*
 againn--

is och! ochón!

Indeed, such stanzas as this provide a useful illustration of the very point we have just been making, namely, that end-rhyme alone is sufficient indication of linear and stanzaic integrity, and no further ornamentation is needed for such purposes.

As we have discovered, however, the line is far from being the smallest structural unit of which native Irish verse-forms are composed. To an Irish poet lines are generally composed of two- and three- stress phrases, the boundaries of which must normally be marked. We have seen how rhythm may be exploited to this end, a change in the number of syllables in a foot or the occurrence of a caesura indicating the boundary between one phrase and the next.

Equally important, however, is the use of ornamentation at the phrase-boundary.

Where lines consist of more than one phrase, phrase-boundaries may be marked ornamentally in two ways. The basic requirement in most cases appears to be that an ornament be placed on the last stressed syllable in a phrase, the same ornament occurring in the same position in succeeding lines of the same stanza. We can see this principle in operation in the narrative song *Máire Ní Mhaoileoin* (ND 2:53), in which the basic linear structure 4.1 is elaborated into a stanza having the form AABA:

'An /dtiocfaidh tú a bhuaire /aitinn leam,
a /Mháire Ní Mhaoil/*eoín*?'
'do /thiocfaínn is á /cheangal leat,
a /chuid den tsaol is a /*stóir*!'
'rachainn féin chun /aifrin leat,
is /ní le grá do /*m'anam* é,
ach le /fonn bheith ag /amharc ort,
a /ógánaigh /*óig*.

This type of ornamentation is of course very common in the context of *crossántacht* and *ochtfhoclach* verse. In *Geaftaí Bhaile Bui* (ND 2:72), for example, the second stress in each of the first three phrases is unmistakably ornamented with a long /i:/ vowel, the first stress of each pair being, seemingly, less important to the definition of the phrase-boundaries:

Ag /geaftaí Bhaile /Bui a /rinn mise an /gníomh
a bhí /amaideach /baoth/dhéanta--
/éaló le /*maoi*, seal /tamaill insan /*oích*'
ar /neamhchead a raibh /faoi na /spéarthaí;
mar /bhí me lag gan /bhí, gan /misneach in mo /chroí,
is /í agam ar /mhín /sléibhe,
bhí an /codladh do mo /chloí, is /b'éigin domhsa /luí
agus /d'imigh sí ina /fíor/mhaighdean.

Marking the end of each phrase would thus appear to constitute the minimum ornamentation necessary for the definition of phrase-lengths within a line. In a great many cases, however, this type of ornament is combined with the second of the two phrase-marking ornaments, normally referred to as *aicill* rhyme. This ornament is present when two stressed syllables on either side of the mid-line phrase-

boundary carry the same assonating vowel. *Aicill* possesses a dual function, not only helping to delineate phrase-boundaries, but also acting as a sort of mid-line enchainement feature, linking two succeeding phrases or half-lines together by repeating at the beginning (or, more rarely, in the middle) of the second of two phrases the assonantal vowel used to mark the end of the preceding phrase. Such ornament is very often systematic, the same pair of assonating vowels appearing in every line of a stanza. There is, however, no requirement that this be so: the metre which scholars have commonly referred to as *caoineadh* (4.2) is distinguished from other four-stress metres by the fact that (a) it is most often composed in paragraphs, and (b) the mid-line *aicill* assonance may change at any time--from line to line in some instances. This latter feature is in fact one which is reflected in Scottish Gaelic practice, where systematic internal ornament within stanzas is more the exception than the rule. The crucial point to grasp here is that--systematic or not--*aicill* has a very important function to perform in reinforcing the phrasal structure of the line.

Aicill rhyme is very familiar in the context of verse composed in four-stress line-types, and can almost be said to be a requirement of five-stress verse, as well as of six-stress lines of the *rócán* type. In four- and five-stress line-types the two assonating vowels generally stand side by side, on either side of the phrase-boundary. A stanza from *An Chúileann* (ND 1:75) illustrates this use of *aicill*:

Dá /bhfeictheá an /spéirbhean is í /taobh leis an /toinn,
 fáinne /óir ar gach /méir léi is í ag /réiteach a /cinn;
 's é dúirt /caiptín Rí /Séamas leis an /mate ar an /loing
 go /mb'fhearr leis aige /féin í ná /éire gan /roinn.

In stanzas of the six-stress *rócán* type, the second of the two identical assonances may occur in either the first or second foot of the second phrase. In *Lá 'gus mé a' taisdeal am' aonar* (ACF:121) the *aicill* rhyme /e:/ occurs in the fifth foot of the line, rather than the fourth:

significant but which adds measurably to the artistic effect of the poem. The examples which we have just examined illustrate the former type, and the most cursory glance through the examples given in those chapters devoted to the various line-types will reveal that ornamentation of this basic structural type characterises to one degree or another a large proportion of the items in our sample. Ornamentation of the second type, on the other hand, may be said to be the single most significant feature distinguishing the poetry of the great 17th- and 18th- century Munster poets from their folk contemporaries and descendants. These virtuosi may, I think, be credited with originating some of these ornaments, and with refining the use of others, just as they may be held responsible for the development of many of the more elaborate stanzaic structures which we encountered in the last chapter.

Having said this much, the first--and by far the most frequently-met--of these 'non-structural' ornaments should not, in my view, be credited to the great Munster poets, for the reason that it is far too widely distributed to have been such a recent innovation. This device is simply that of assigning an assonantal vowel to every stressed syllable in the line, not just to those falling at the end of a phrase. This feature is to be found in poetry of every line-type belonging to every province in Ireland--though not, significantly, in Scotland--and represents a fairly logical extension of the basic system outlined above. We have already, in preceding chapters, seen copious examples illustrative of this device, but one or two more may be useful here to demonstrate various permutations. In the first of these, from *A chuaine chaomhsa* by the 17th-century poet Pádraigín Haicéad (ND 1:19), the 'structural' assonances in the second, third and final feet are supplemented by two further assonances in feet one and four. It is important to realise that these assonances have no structural function within the line, and are only recognisable as ornaments by virtue of the fact that the same assonantal vowels occur in the same position in subsequent lines:

A /chuaine /chaomhsa i /gcéin i /bhfódaibh /Fáil
 /luaidheam /léigheann, /léigeam /brón ar /lár,
 /buaileam /fé gach /ceird de /nósaibh /cháich
 is fá /thuairim /éireann /déanaim /óla/chán.

Another example using a five-stress line illustrates a refinement of this feature. In the *ceangal* to Muiris mac Dáibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt's poem *Beannaigh an longsa* (ND 1:10), the assonantal vowel used in the first foot is used again in the fourth, creating a sort of retrograde or 'mirror' *aicill dhúbalta* effect and giving these ornaments a certain integrity within the line as well as in the quatrain as a whole:

/Sirim ar /Aonmhac /íosa /d'fhuiling an /pháis
 nár /bhrístear don /loing ná don /bhuín 'na /bhfuile go
 /brách;
 /buime ceart /gaoithe /tríthi is /tuile 'na /deáidh
 ó /imlibh /Baoi go /crích na /Cruinne sa /Spáinn.

In the context of the four-stress line-type the most common ornamental pattern is the one featuring *aicill* rhyme in the middle of the line, an example of which we saw in the quatrain from *An Chúileann* quoted above. In the following example, from Pádraigín Haicéad's poem *Do chuala inné* (ND 1:23), an ornament is assigned to the first stressed syllable in the line as well as to the other three:

Do /chuala in/né ag /maothlach /muinteardha
 mar /nuadhacht /scéil ó /chéile /Chuinn is Chuir
 gur /duairc le /cléir an /Ghaeilge /ghrinmshlitheach
 /suairceas /séimh na /saorfhear /sinseardha.

This ornamental schema may be represented by the formula ABBR, and along with its alternative version -BBR (in which the first stress is not ornamented) represents the most common ornamentation found in the context of the four-stress line. There is, however, another pattern which is frequently associated with this line-type in which the two phrases of which the line is composed are ornamentally contrasted with each other, rather than linked together by means of *aicill* rhyme. This schema follows the pattern AABR, the first phrase employing the same vowel in both stressed syllables and the second presenting an ornamental contrast to it. As an example we may cite the following stanza from *An Spiorad Naomh* (ND 1:40):

A /íosa, a /Naoimhspioraid, a /Athair, is a /Uain,
 tug /fíorfhuil do /thaoibh ghil dár /gceannach go
 /cruaidh,
 bí 'om /dhídean, bí 'om /chaoimhdeacht, bí ar /m'aire
 gach /uair,
 más /luí dhamh, más /suí dhamh, más /seasamh nó /suan.

A second type of ornamentation may be regarded as supplementary reinforcement to basic *aicill*: this is a sort of doubled *aicill* rhyme, and it is in fact referred to by Ó Donnchadha as *aicill dhúbalta*, by which he means an *aicill* feature involving four stressed syllables in all, two on each side of a mid-line phrase-boundary (1925:33). This type of ornament would appear only to operate in the context of longer line-types in which the line is divisible into two equal or nearly equal half-lines i.e. six-stress *rócán* verse, and seven- and eight- stress lines of the 'non-*ochtfhoclach*' type. An example of doubled *aicill* rhyme used in the context of a *rócán* stanza is the following from *An Abhainn Laoi*, by Eoghan an Mhéirín Mhac Cárthaigh (PPM:266). To simplify identification of the *aicill* feature only those syllables affected by it are highlighted:

A /chumplacht ghlan /chaoimh-chrothach /chaoín,
 Ur-/léighionta go /líomhar a /n-dán;
 Bhúr /n-dúthrachd ag /géar-mholadh /Laoi,
 (Ba /shaothar a /n-inntleacht is /fearr)
 An /lúb-shrothach, /glé-chriostal, /min,
 Is /féile ar bith /fíor-uisge /cáil;
 Gur /thúirling gach /séan le na /taoibh,
 Do /b'fhéidir fá /rígheacht neimhe /d'fhágail.

A principal characteristic of doubled *aicill* is that the two assonantal vowels involved always occur in the same order, the ornament differing in this respect from what we earlier termed 'retrograde' or 'mirror' *aicill*, a far less common ornamental phenomenon. A further example shows doubled *aicill* used in the context of an eight-stress line. The following lines are from the first stanza of Eoghan Rua's poem *Sealad dem Shaoghal* (EOS:72); note that the first of the two vowels participating in the doubled *aicill* ornament simultaneously functions in a single *aicill* feature linking the two phrases in the first half-line:

/Sealad dem /shaoghal go /haerach /iongantach
 Ag /déanamh /tuirse 's ag /riaradh an /bhróin
 Go /ceasnathach /céasta /créachtach /cunnail-bhocht
 In /ngaorthaibh /coille 's gan /aon im /chomhair

An ornamental device of which a number of the Munster poets were particularly fond was that of assigning an ornament, normally an assonating vowel, to an unstressed syllable. This type of ornament is always to be found in association with an ornamented stressed syllable, and is seemingly intended to supplement rather than to replace ornamentation of the more basic, structural type. An example may be seen in the lines we have just quoted, where all three syllables in the words *iongantach* and *cunnail-bhocht* correspond not only in terms of vowel quality but also display consonantal features reminiscent of those employed in syllabic verse--perhaps, indeed, representing a hangover from the rhyme-rules of classical versification--as in the similarity between the *-ng-* of *iongantach* and the *-nn-* of *cunnail*, or in the *-ch-* to be found at the ends of both words. An unstressed ornament of this kind may be found virtually anywhere in the line, whether at the cadence, or participating in a phrase-linking *aicill* feature, or at any other position within linear structure that the poet deems appropriate.

While it is most commonly the case that the ornamented unstressed syllable follows the ornamented stressed syllable with which it is associated, there are examples in which the opposite is the case. The following stanza contains two examples of unstressed ornament. The words *bean* and *gceart* (l. 1) and *gach* (l. 2) fall at the secondary ictus and may, therefore, be termed 'semistressed' rather than 'unstressed' ornament. The words *dhreach* (l. 3) and *ngeall* (l. 4), however, and the antepenultimate syllable in all four lines (*gcomh-*, *dhroch-*, *co-*, *ghoid-*), are assonances which may truly be termed 'unstressed', as each constitutes the fourth syllable in a quadrisyllabic foot. The stanza is the first in Diarmaid Ruadh Mac Muireadhaigh's poem *Amhrán na Bradaíle* (ND 1:44); the unstressed assonances are indicated by the use of italics:²

Más /peaca, a bhean na /malach gceart gcomh/dhlúithe,
 an /bhradaíl is gach a /mbeanann de dhroch/rún di,
 is é /mheasaim, a dhreach /mhaiseach, gur co/súil ribh,
 bheith i /nglasaibh i ngeall /aisig ar ghoid/eabhairse.

In both of the preceding examples the vowels used to ornament the unstressed syllables have been short ones. While this practice is a very common one, it is nevertheless possible for a long vowel or diphthong to be used in the same fashion. The poetry of Pádraigín Haicéad provides numerous examples, including the following stanza addressed to Allsún Baidhtiún (PH:18) which is something of a *tour de force*. Unstressed ornaments are in italics, stressed ones in bold characters:

Do /mheall súd--/feadhmrúp /treaghbhrúdh--/mise, mo/nuar:
 /caint chiúin, /radharc tnúidh, /aghadhghnúis /iongantach /uain
 /camchúl /cladhdhlúth, /cadhblúb /cruinnighthe /cuach,
 ag /Allsún /Baidhtiún /deaghrún, /diongantach /duan.

In addition to the assonantal ornamentation of unstressed syllables as indicated, it is also clear that the occurrence of the so-called 'short unrounded' vowel in the two unstressed syllables of the penultimate foot of each line is no accident; indeed, Haicéad achieves a perfect rhyme between *iongantach* and *diongantach*. In addition, he has made copious use of alliteration throughout the stanza.

Finally, an ornament which is defined by its position in the stanza, but which is not seemingly obligatory in accentual verse is what Tórna, borrowing the term from classical metrics, called *conchlann*. This device is employed with the aim of linking succeeding stanzas together, by means of employing at or near the beginning of a stanza a word or phrase used at the end of the preceding stanza. As ó Donnchadha pointed out, this feature was one of which Seán ó Murchadh na Raithíneach was very fond (1925:35-6), and he also cites examples from poems by Eoghan Rua and Piaras Mac Gearailt; but if the evidence of our sample is any indication it was not a device in general use among accentual poets. *Conchlann* probably owes its occasional occurrence in accentual verse to the existence of similar ornaments sometimes to be found in syllabic poetry, among them (a) *conchlann* itself, used for example to link stanzas 2-3 and 5-6 of Aodh Mac Aingil's poem

An Naí Naomh (ND 1:3); similarly (b) the practice of using alliteration (*uaim*) to link a word at the end of one stanza with one at the beginning of the next, or (c) the practice of repeating at the end of a poem a word or phrase used at or near the beginning of the poem in order to give the whole composition a sense of structural unity; in the context of *dán díreach* this latter ornament is known as *dúnadh*. There are only two occurrences of *conchlann* in our sample, the first in a loosely-constructed *caoineadh* probably composed by the Ossory poet Nioclás 'an Chaointeacháin' Breathnach, *Caoineadh don Athair Risteard ó Sé* (DO:55), and the second--a much more satisfactory poem in all respects--in another lament, *Tuireav Vic Inín Duiv*, by a nineteenth-century Kerry poet, Diarmaid na Bolgaighe ó Sé (Free.:200); this latter poem is also unusual in its use of the *dúnadh* ornament. The first two stanzas of ó Sé's poem demonstrate how *conchlann* works:

/W' osna trí /Luimini, /Cunucht, agus /Clér le /cú,
Go /Corcuig na /luingeas, agus har /tonuiv á /déing do
/chiúl!
Ar /grovuiri /cuihig, fear /inid na /läch fuer /clú,
Go /tearaman /luigi, agus na /cruingi go /lér sin /iúir!

Sin /iúir ó, /cuireag bíng /wúara gus /shcéiv na /Mún,
Gur /dúch gach /duini, agus gur /imig ár /glér
bunash/ciún,
Ar /ngiúshtísh /cuihig, ár /mrihav a /réach ár /gúish,
Ar /garuid, ár /goishti, ár /guspu 's ár /läch fuer
/clú!

Clú agus ceanas,.... etc.

(last line, final verse)

'Gus /w'osna trí /Luimini /túsa go /tréh sin /iúir!

12.2 Types of ornament

In the preceding section we have attempted to describe the function and importance of ornament in Irish accentual verse as these are related to the position in the line or stanza in which the ornament is found. We have mentioned various types of ornament--assonance, alliteration, *conchlann*--but have not so far attempted to define the nature and quality of these ornamental devices more precisely. Some, indeed, hardly need such definition: the description given above of *conchlann*, for instance, presumably needs

no further elaboration. It may, however, be useful further to elucidate our understanding of the character of the main ornaments used by accentual poets i.e. assonantal ornament, alliterative ornament, and a third category--hitherto unrecognised--which we may call rhythmical or accentual ornament.

12.2.1 Vowel assonance

In *Prosóid Gaedhilge* Tadhg ó Donnchadha draws attention to a significant difference between the oral performance of syllabic verse and that of accentual poetry: in the latter, he says, '*ní do réir na sgríbhinne a ghabhann an Guta Méidreachta, acht do réir na Canúna*' (1925:15). In other words, the performance of popular poetry is governed by rules bearing a close correspondence to those of vernacular dialect pronunciation, in contrast with what scholars have assumed to have been normal practice as regards classical verse, i.e. that performers would have essayed a pronunciation as near as possible to that of classical Irish.

The temptation here is to assume that, because popular poetry is generally *performed* in a naturalistic manner (barring the occasional invocation of an archaic pronunciation [*seanfhuaim*] by a poet knowledgeable in such matters), the *composition* of such poetry--in particular, the choice of assonating vowel ornaments--must likewise be governed by the phonological distinctions implicit in the poet's local dialect. Prof. ó Cuív appears to have taken such a view in a recent article in which he discusses the phonological implications of metrics, both classical and accentual:

In the case of *dán díreach* we are dealing with a body of verse which was composed in conformity with strict metrical rules or conventions and within a phonological and grammatical system which was specific, though not rigid. By this I mean that the variation provided by alternative forms was not merely tolerated but encouraged, while at the same time some features which were current in the ordinary spoken language were excluded from the poetic norm. So if they are familiar with the phonological and grammatical systems of Ear. Mod. Irish and with the metrical rules, it is a comparatively easy matter for editors to recognise

textual faults. At times it is more difficult to suggest satisfactory emendations.

In contrast to the neatness of the Classical Irish system *amhrán* is highly complicated, for it reflects a spoken language which may vary from place to place and from one period of time to another. So it is not a question of one system of grammar and phonology--albeit with permitted variants within the system--but of as many systems as there are dialects to be reckoned over a period of over four hundred years.... (1979:108).

This argument would seem to imply that Tórna's reduction of the rules for assonantal ornament to a single 'system' by which all 'metrical vowels' may be classified--a system expressed, as we may remember, in the following chart--is an oversimplification and, as such, of little use to the analyst:

Long	á	ó	ú	é	í
Short	a	o	u	e	i
Mixed	ua	ia	ou	y[=ai]	

In the same article, however, ó Cuív points out that the 'parameters to be applied to vowels for purposes of assonance' are worthy of further consideration, given the obvious fact that that 'at no time was phonetic identity of vowels required for assonance in Mod. Irish accentual verse' (1979:113). He would thus appear to be suggesting the existence of a generalised set of rules governing the poet's choice of ornamental vowels, within which--as in the case of classical Irish verse--certain deviations from the 'poetic norm' (to use his term) would have been tolerated both from one dialect area to another and within a given locality itself.

In order to approach the definition of such parameters with any hope of success the analyst must first of all separate poetic intention from performance, i.e. consider only those clues apparent in the text itself, without reference to any one performance of it. Phonetic transcriptions of verse-performance will be useful to him in the long run, but these should not, in my view, be treated initially as essen-

tial to an understanding of the ornamental schema of the verse, as they may be more confusing than enlightening at this stage. (It may be worth adding, in this connexion, that phonetic transcriptions based upon *sung* performances may be unreliable in that the rhythmic structure of the air may tend to distort quantity-relationships among syllables and thereby lead to the faulty identification of syllabic length in some cases.) Secondly he must be aware, as we have stressed earlier in this chapter, of the various functions performed by assonantal ornament in various positions within the line and stanza. This enables him to look in the right places for such ornaments and to make a preliminary decision, in the case of such ornamentation being apparently faulty or lacking altogether, as to whether this fault may be the result of (a) an unsophisticated approach to ornamentation on the part of the poet, (b) textual corruption resulting from the processes of oral transmission, or (c) the influence of dialectal pronunciation upon the written form of the text he has before him. The version of *Brighid óg Ní Mháille* which Nollaig ó hUrmoltaigh edited from a performance he recorded in Tory Island (a text of which ó Cuív has made convincing use in the article previously cited) provides us with a useful illustration of this last point. ó hUrmoltaigh gives as the last two lines of the first verse the following (1974:228):

Tá na mílte fear i ngrádh le d'éadan geal náireach,
Agus thug tú barr bréagthacht' ar na mná udaidh siar.

Clearly these lines are constructed on the *ochtfhoclach* pattern, 3A+B, and the analyst would expect to find vowel-assonance at the end of each of the four phrases, the first three assonances representing the same or a similar vowel. The word *bréagthacht*, however, appears to break the pattern, its first syllable containing not a long 'a' vowel of some description but rather suggesting some sort of long 'e' (in fact, ó hUrmoltaigh's phonetic transcription reveals a *short* 'e'.) In this case the analyst will correctly suppose the seeming assonantal 'fault' (if it may be termed such) to result from the fact that the particular text he has before him was prepared by an editor concerned to represent the flavour of the dialect in which he recorded it, rather than to provide an authoritative text of the song as it might originally have been composed by the poet: there can be no doubt that the latter took the word *bréagthacht* (or *breághthacht*) to contain a

long 'a', and therefore to have been appropriate in the ornamental schema of the poem. Indeed, Prof. ó Cuív interprets the occurrence of *bréaghtacht* /b'rehaxht/ in the context of an ornamental schema calling for a long 'a' vowel as indicative of an earlier form /b'r'a:həxt/ 'which would be within normal parameters', given the tendency in Donegal to pronounce -éa- instead of -eá- (1979:113).

Obviously, the song *Brighid óg Ní Mháille* is known from many other sources, and so a hypothetical editor is not restricted to this one version of the text in his attempt to discover the original intentions of the poet. He will thus not be in danger of giving undue importance to the word *bréaghtacht* as an indicator of those intentions, but rather will be able to explain its seeming irregularity in the ornamental schema on the basis of his knowledge of the Tory dialect, and of the historical development of similar words. In other cases, however, our editor may be less happily placed, and it then falls to him to determine whether an irregularity in the ornamental schema may, on the one hand, be the result of dialectal variability (as above) or faulty transmission, or if, on the other, the seeming irregularity may indeed have been intended by the poet and thus be indicative of a sound acceptable within the parameters established by the 'poetic phonology' for a given dialect or dialect-area. In order to establish the truth he will need to know, as precisely as possible, the provenance of the poem he is examining (or, failing that, the provenance of the particular version of it which may be available to him); he will, in addition, need to have a working familiarity with the phonology of the dialect-area from which the poem (or, better still, the poet) came; and he will need to have examined a number of other poems from the area, preferably ones whose provenance is beyond doubt and of which multiple versions exist. Based upon his knowledge of the local phonology he should--even in the absence of phonetic transcriptions from live performance--be able to judge what sounds would be produced by a native speaker in reciting the verse before him, and thus to establish what sounds may, in that dialect, constitute the range of variability acceptable within the parameters of one poetic 'phoneme'.

There is a certain amount of evidence which suggests that, in general, the phonological systems of verse are simpler than those of any of the present-day Irish dialects so far studied in detail. The identification of ornament in the verse context requires a system in which assonating vowel sounds are readily distinguishable from one another; for this reason, vowels which may be phonemically distinguished from one another in speech but which are nevertheless quite close to one another in terms of their actual sound quality are frequently to be interpreted as members of the same 'phoneme' in the verse-context. As an example we may cite the case of the two long 'o' sounds /o:/ and /ɔ:/ which are phonemically distinguished in Ulster dialects. There would appear to be no instance, however, of the opposition between /o:/ and /ɔ:/ as a minimal pair in verse; rather there exist numerous examples demonstrating the fact that either phoneme may be used to fulfil the requirements of verse-ornament. Consider the first stanza of Séamas ó Dónaill's poem on the death of his son (ND 2:67):

An /chéad Mháirt den /Fhómhar ba /bhrónach is ba /tuirseach mo
 scéal--
 lámh /thapaidh a bhí /cróga a ghabhail /romhamsa go /leabaidh na
 /néal:
 ar /charraig na /ndeor, mo /bhrón, gur /chaill me mo /radharc,
 is go /dté mé faoi /fhód cha /dtógaim /m'aigne 'do /dhéidh.

The mid-line *aicill* rhyme in this stanza is characterised by the consistent use of a long 'o' vowel; but while in most cases the sound /o:/ would occur, in the third line the word *ndeor* would surely be pronounced /n'ɔ:r/, rather than /n'o:r/ as in other parts of the country. As we may be in no doubt that the stanza was composed in Donegal, we must conclude that, for the purposes of versification, the distinction between /o:/ and /ɔ:/ was immaterial to the poet, and thus that a poetic phonology for Irish popular verse probably need recognise only one long 'o' phoneme, not two.

A similar situation obtains in Connemara, where three distinct long 'a' phonemes are attested for the Cois Fhairrge dialect, /a:/, /a:/ and /æ:/. There is, on the one hand, ample evidence testifying that the distinction between /a:/ and /æ:/ is not one which is observed in verse. Consider the first stanza of *A Bhídeach na gCarad* or, as it is frequently known nowadays, *Brid Thomáis Mhurchú* (CO:38):

A /Bhídeach na /gcarad, tuig /feasta nach /súgradh /é,
 ó /thug mo chroidhe /gean duit ar /mhalrait ná /diúltaigh /mé,
 Má /shíl tú mé /mhealladh le /bladar deas /ciúin do /bhéil,
 Is /rí-mhór mo /ghean ort seachas /cailíní /deasa an /tsaoghail.

Here the mid-line *aicill* schema employs what, according to Prof. de Bhaldraithe's analysis of the Cois Fhairrge dialect, would be a long 'a' vowel.³ The sound /ɑ:/ is not represented, but the sound /a:/ would be present in the words *gcarad*, *mhalrait*, *bladar*, and *cailíní*, while /æ:/ would be found in *feasta*, *g(h)ean*, and *mhealladh*. This would suggest that both /a:/ and /æ:/ should be considered allophones of a single long 'a' phoneme in our poetic phonology. A slight complication arises, however, when we consider the position of these two sounds vis-a-vis the other long 'a' sound in this dialect, /ɑ:/--the sound which, unlike the other two, is most frequently spelt using the orthographical symbol for length, *á*. Consider the following stanza from the song *Éirighidh a Dhaoine* (CO:80):

Nach /moch moch a/máireach a /rachas mé /láithreach
 Go /bhfeice mé /planndóg an /tsonais 's an /tséin.
 Go /bhfuil siad dá /rádh liom naoi /n-uaire gur
 /breághtha í
 Ná /Helen is ná an /Bhábán, is cá /beag dhom a /mhéid.

Here the 'A' rhyme in the 3A+B *ochtfhoclach* schema is characterised by a long 'a' vowel which, in the Cois Fhairrge dialect, would be pronounced using the phoneme /ɑ:/. In the case of the word *planndóg*, however, the first vowel would probably be /a:/ rather than /ɑ:/ because of the presence of the following syllable, on the analogy of contrasting pairs like *ann* /ɑ:N/ versus *anam* /a:Nəm/, *ball* /bɑ:L/ versus *balla* /ba:Lə/. The same phenomenon is to be seen in the poem *Micheál Mhac Suibhne* by the poet of that name, who was born in northern Connemara near the Mayo border (ACG:65):

'Séard /deir mo /mhuintir liom do /réir a /dtuairim
 Go /dtiubharfadh /ruaig go /Newfound/land.
 /Níl mé /fulannach 'un /iomchair /ualaign,
 I /n-obair /thuaighe ná i /ngearradh /crann.
 Dhá /dtigeadh an /stoirm is bíodh an /teach dhá
 /fhuadach,
 Ní /leigfeadh an /fuacht dom a /dhul ó'n /splainnc,
 Is dá /mbeadh teach /tábhairne ag /bun Bhinn /Ghuaire,
 Budh /é mo /dhualgas go /dtairneochainn /ann.

Here we would expect a person from Cois Fhairrge to pronounce *crann* and *ann* using the phoneme /ɑ:/, but *-land* and *splainnc* with the sound /a:/ (the apparently regular alternation of these two sounds in the stanza has no significance, as other stanzas demonstrate that the poet intends all lines to end with the same metrical vowel). How, then, are we to explain the fact that the phoneme /a:/ apparently may occur in combination with either /ɑ:/ or /æ:/, while the latter two sounds are not--so far, at any rate--attested in the same verse-environment? The explanation may lie in the fact that many words not using orthographical long á which in Cois Fhairrge are pronounced using /a:/ and /æ:/ are, in neighbouring dialects (significantly those of Mayo), uniformly pronounced with a short /a/ rather than a long vowel. These Mayo dialects appear to be characterised by rather simpler phonological systems than that of the Cois Fhairrge dialect: the sound /ɑ:/ is lacking, being replaced by /a:/ in all environments calling for length; while the sound /æ/ is unattested, being replaced in all appropriate environments with /a/.⁴ We may, therefore, be justified in surmising that for the purposes of poetry a single short 'a' vowel phoneme exists in the minds of poets, even though in Cois Fhairrge this phoneme may be variously pronounced /a:/, /æ:/, /a/ or /æ/; while in the same dialect the poetic long 'a' phoneme may be pronounced either /a:/ or /ɑ:/. Such a solution would appear to accommodate Munster poetry as well, judging from the information available: in West Cork the long á vowels /ɑ:/ and /a:/ are attested, while there is only one short vowel /a/; in Ring the situation appears similar to that attested for Mayo dialects.⁵

Thus it becomes manifestly clear that the pronunciation of a line or stanza is not necessarily the best key to the poet's intentions insofar as assonantal ornament is concerned. Rather the analyst must possess an understanding of the phonology of verse, as distinct from that of any individual dialect of Irish, if he is correctly to diagnose what the poet had in mind. At the same time, where a somewhat non-standard pronunciation may be seen clearly and unquestionably to participate in the assonantal schema of a poem, the analyst will have a valuable clue to the provenance of the poem he is examining. A case in point would be the pronunciation of the word *radharc* in the stanza

from *Bá Phádraig Uí Dhónaill* which we quoted earlier. The Donegal pronunciation of this word, /re:rk/, clearly establishes it as integral to the poet's chosen ornamental schema. If the song were sung in an area where the word *radharc* was given a different pronunciation, such as /rairk/, the analyst would have to decide whether, on the one hand, the word was an oral interpolation, the original word containing the appropriate sound /e:/ having been set aside for some reason or, on the other, the song originated in some area where *radharc* contained the sound /e:/. One would hope that his knowledge of Irish dialects would incline him to the latter view.

Thus it would appear that, viewed as a possible expression of an overall 'poetic phonology', Tórna's chart of 'metrical vowels' may be more valuable than might at first have been supposed. Alongside such a chart, however, the analyst may find it helpful to note the various ways in which the poetic phonemes may be realised in whatever dialect is relevant to the poetry he is interested in, thus enabling himself to separate those seemingly deviant pronunciations resulting from the alteration of a particular sound within that dialect from those which may have arisen through faulty transmission. In the case of the Cois Fhairrge dialect, for example, we may suggest the following rough summary. The top line of each section of the chart contains what we regard as the poetic phonology, a guide to poetic usage throughout Ireland; beneath this top line are given a selection of possible pronunciations which vowels participating in an ornamental schema might receive in the context of Cois Fhairrge Irish. Note that phonetic symbols are used only for the latter, so as not to imply any one pronunciation for a given poetic phoneme; but at the same time neither is it intended to imply that any single orthographical convention is more appropriate than any other: the poetic phoneme /i/, for example, may on occasions be spelled -ao- or -aoi-, neither spelling involving the letter i:

long vowels

í, ia ^a	é	á	ó	ú, ua ^a
/i:/, /iə/	/e:/	/o:/ /a:/	/o:/ /u:/	/u:/, /uə/

short vowels

i ^b	a	o	u
/i/	/a:/	/o/	/u/
/e/	/æ:/	/u/	
/o/	/a/		
/a/, /æ/	/ae/		
	/u/		

diphthongs

ia, í ^a	ei	ai	au	ua, ú ^a
/iə/, /i:/	/ei/	/ai/	/au/	/uə/, /u:/

^a From about 1800 there is a tendency among poets of all regions to allow words containing í to assonate with words containing ia, and similarly in the case of ú and ua. This practice would appear to reflect the greater prominence of the first element over the second in the case of 'falling diphthongs' (i.e. diphthongs where the second element is generally schwa). A number of dialect handbooks in fact show that in certain phonological environments the diphthong is frequently interchangeable with the corresponding pure vowel sound.⁶

^b The symbol i* has been adopted by some recent editors in preference to ó Donnchadha's symbol ü to indicate the so-called 'short unrounded' vowel; this later practice is reflected in the present work.

Both ó Donnchadha and ó Cuív rightly observe that an assonantal vowel may be either a long vowel/diphthong or a short vowel. What is equally important, however, is the placement of long and short vocalic elements within linear structure. We have earlier been at some pains to point out that certain structural features more regularly attract assonantal ornament than do others; such ornament may even be said to be a necessity in such positions, whereas in others it may be omitted without too much ill-effect. Long-vowel and diphthong assonances are, in fact, far likelier than short-vowel assonances to appear in positions of primary structural importance within the line or stanza, i.e. at the line- or phrase-cadence, or in an *aicill* rhyme, whereas short-

vowel assonances occur in less strategic positions as, for instance, in the initial foot of a phrase (unless participating in an *aicill* ornament), or on a semi-stressed or unstressed syllable. This is not to say that it is impossible for a short vowel to occupy an important strategic position within the line, or for a long vowel/diphthong to be used to ornament an unstressed syllable, but rather that it is far commoner for long vowels/diphthongs to occupy strategic positions than it is for short vowels to do so. This fact is easily demonstrated. A brief survey was undertaken of assonantal ornament as it functioned within those stanzas quoted in the taxonomical section of this work. The results of this survey may be summarised as follows:⁷

End-Rhyme. The presence of a long or short vocalic ornament within the cadential foot appears to depend to some extent upon whether that foot is monosyllabic, disyllabic, or trisyllabic: long vowels/diphthongs are overwhelmingly favoured for monosyllabic cadences; they are about twice as common as short vowels in disyllabic cadences; and are heavily outnumbered by short vowels in trisyllabic cadences. In all, 139 examples were surveyed: in 96 cases the cadential assonance was a long vowel/diphthong, and in 43 cases it was a short vowel. Broken down according to cadence-type these results are as follows:

(a) Monosyllabic cadence:	Long vowel/diphthong	60
	Short vowel	7
(b) Disyllabic cadence:	Long vowel/diphthong	32
	Short vowel	13
(c) Trisyllabic cadence:	Long vowel/diphthong	4
	Short vowel	23

Aicill rhymes and other paired assonances within the line. The great majority of examples surveyed involved some type of *aicill* rhyme, i.e. either the type in which the two stressed syllables stand in immediately adjacent feet, or the type in which the two syllables are separated by an intervening foot. A few examples of *aicill dhúbalta* also fell into the survey. In addition, a small number of examples of the four-stress ornamental schema AABR were included in this survey, although the paired 'A' elements, falling as they do within the same phrase, do not satisfy the requirements for *aicill* rhyme. Of 71 examples of such paired assonances noted in the stanzas surveyed, 50 employed long vowels/diphthongs, and 21 used short vowels.

Non-final phrase-cadences. In this section were included unpaired assonantal ornaments falling at the ends of phrases within (as opposed to at the end of) the line, in particular the sort of reduplicative assonances which mark the ends of phrases in *croántacht* and *ochtfhoclach* metres. Of 48

examples of such assonances noted in the stanzas surveyed, 39 employed long vowels/diphthongs, while 9 used short vowels.

Non-functional ornament. In this final category were included all assonantal ornaments falling (a) at the beginning of a phrase (other than those participating in an *aicill* rhyme) or (b) on semi-stressed or unstressed syllables. Of 103 examples noted, 60 employed long vowels/diphthongs, and 43 used short vowels.

Clearly, most poets appear to have preferred long vowels and diphthongs to short vowels for ornamental purposes, as they outnumber short-vowel assonances in nearly all metrical environments; the one exception, as we noted, being that of a trisyllabic cadential foot. This is hardly surprising, given (a) that long vowels/diphthongs are more striking to the ear than are short vowels, and thus make better markers for the boundaries within linear and stanzaic structure, and (b) that a number of the short-vowel phonemes found in various dialects may at times be subsumed, in the poetic phonology, under a single rubric, that of the 'short unrounded' vowel, their aural individuality thereby being considerably reduced. To the extent that short vowels do functionally ornamentally, their use appears to be most extensive in those environments where ornamentation plays a less than crucial role in the delineation of structural features in the verse.

12.2.2 Alliteration

Scholars of Old Irish have long recognised the importance of alliteration as an ornamental device in even the earliest Irish verse. Indeed, Professor Carney has demonstrated that alliteration served very much the same function in some archaic verse as *aicill* rhyme serves in later syllabic and accentual poetry i.e. that of 'the linking together of verse units, that is, stanzas, lines, half lines, or...lesser units, by the use of corresponding sounds' (1981:251). In the context of later accentual verse, however, alliteration has yielded to vowel assonance its position as the primary ornament highlighting verse structure. It is absent from all but a very few items in our sample, and in those in which it is present it supplements rather than replaces assonantal ornament, the latter being, in most of these cases, more elaborate than the norm. We have already,

in Pádraigín Haicéad's poem *Do Allsún Baidhtiún*, seen an example of the use of alliteration in a very ornamentally complex stanza. The complexity, however, is primarily a product of the assonantal ornamentation; alliteration, it would appear, occurs only when it can be arranged easily and naturally within the context of the assonantal schema, and is thus not systematic within the stanza. This is not to say that poets do not attempt to create systematic alliterative patterns over a whole stanza, but that when they have to make a choice between consistency within the assonantal schema and a uniform alliterative pattern, they normally choose the former. A good example illustrative of a poet backing himself into a corner through trying to serve both masters is the following, from a *barántas* by Éadbhard de Nógla (Bar.:63):

Cuirim dá dtóraíocht,
 le cumas is cóirdhli,
 cuideachta clóchaoín
 céimghlan.
 Curaí calma
 an choinníll charthanaigh,
 bilí baramhail
 béasach,
 Cabhailghlan cumasach,
 togha na foirinne,
 cabhair is cuisle
 na Féinne.
 Guardaig cumarach,
 cuailí coille,
 'gus uathghlinn uisce
 'gus féitheach.

Here the poet appears to have been aiming for a situation in which all stressed words in the stanza would begin with c-, but has not been able to manage this and so has substituted other alliterative consonants (ch-, b-) and vowels in some of the lines. (Ch- could, of course, be taken to alliterate with c-; see Ó Cuív 1966:94.) To compensate, he has attempted to link the last two cadential words in the stanza--*Féinne* and *féitheach*--by means of alliteration as well as vowel assonance. The overall impression is certainly one of considerable ornamental complexity, but the alliterative component is clearly subsidiary to the assonantal one in creating this impression.

Very occasionally, however, a poet may attempt to use alliteration as he uses assonantal ornament, to highlight a specific structural feature within the line or stanza. In the *ceangal* to the *trí rann agus amhrán* composition *Och! a Mhuire* (ND 1:13), the poet uses alliteration only in conjunction with the mid-line aicill rhyme. Alliteration is absent from the second line, but in the third it may be intended to replace rather than just to reinforce the vowel assonance:

Mo chrá mar rinneas mar rinne na táinte riamh,
bheith i ngrá ar an ainnir dá mealladh gach lá le
bliain;
mo chroí gur mhearaigh, le bhfuilimse gártha liath,
fán chás nach dtuigeann aon duine go bráth ach Dia.

12.2.3 *Accentual ornament*

Finally, a number of learned poets have made use of what we may call 'accentual ornament'. This may at first sound like a contradiction in terms, so concerned have we been that the accentual and ornamental systems should be viewed separately. We may, nevertheless, observe that the accentual system, like the ornamental one, is an hierarchical one, certain features having more structural importance than others for the definition of the utterance as verse. The number of stressed syllables per line must, of course, be regulated if the utterance is to be regarded as verse rather than prose, as must the distribution of pauses both within the line and at the cadence. Further than this, however, it is not functionally necessary to go: the hearer will perceive as verse any utterance which is organised according to these principles, as the great majority of examples in our sample amply testifies. It is, even so, possible to carry the accentual structuring of verse a few steps further; and while such structuring may contribute little more to the definition of the utterance as verse in structural terms, it may have a marked effect upon the impression of rhythmical regularity conveyed by the poetry, and thus contribute significantly to its overall artistic effect. Such 'accentual ornament', then, should be

classified--along with many other forms of ornament--as a stylistic rather than as a structural feature.

The most obvious manifestation of accentual ornament is the regulation of the number of syllables in the line, resulting in the creation of what has been called, in the English context, 'syllabic-accentual' verse. This is verse in which the number of syllables does not vary, or varies only minimally (usually in the anacrusis) from line to line, but in which the organising principle is still the accentual one, i.e. the number of stressed syllables per line. In English versification this is normally accomplished by placing the same number of syllables in each foot of the line. In iambic pentameter, for instance, each foot normally contains two syllables, resulting in a decasyllabic line overall, as in the first line of Gray's *Elegy*:

The cur/few tolls /the knell /of par/ting day

This same practice is very often followed in Irish verse as well, as in the following stanza from *Cé sin ar mo thuama?* (OT:312) in which each of the three non-cadential feet in each line contains three syllables, giving a rolling or galloping effect rather like that conveyed by the English line 'half-a-league, half-a-league, half-a-league onward'. I have replaced two or three syllables with apostrophes where elision would naturally occur:

Tá /clog ar mo /chroí 'stigh, 'ta /líonta le /grá
duit,
/lionndubh taobh /thíos de chomh /ciardhubh le /hairne.
Má /bhaineann aon /ní duit 's go /gcloífeadh an /bás
tú,
/beads' im shí /gaoithe romhat /thíos ar na /bánta.

Far more commonly in Irish, however, the number of syllables per line may be regularised, while the number of syllables per foot may vary within the line. In such cases the same number of syllables normally is to be found in corresponding feet in all lines of a stanza; thus if, for example, the second foot of line one contains three syllables, that same foot in the remaining lines of the stanza will likewise contain three syllables, irrespective of the fact that the third foot may contain two syllables, or four, or some other number. This

practice is not, to my knowledge, one which to any extent typifies English verse, although it is extremely characteristic of verse in Irish. Here is another of the examples which we saw earlier in connexion with our taxonomical survey of line-types, from the poem *Easmail a's Ár* by Eoghan Rua ó Súilleabháin (FF:114). In it the first and final feet of each line contain three syllables, while the internal feet are both disyllabic:

/Easmail a's /ár gach /lá go /dúbalta
 /Galar a's /smál id /lár gan /dúil i sult,
 Nár /mhairir um /Cháisc, an /tráth is /dlúth go bhfuil
 Mo /stocáí id /mhála i /n-áit tuis/tiúin agat.

In addition to regularising the number of syllables per line some Irish poets have recognised the ornamental possibilities inherent in the fact that differently constructed syllables have different properties as regards length. Syllables containing long vowels or diphthongs, for example, take longer to utter than do syllables in which the vowel is short; similarly, certain consonants and consonant clusters may result in a syllable being perceived as longer than its neighbour, even if it is the shorter of the two syllables which receives the word-stress. In words like *salach*, *chuiris*, and *turus*, for example, the final or 'arresting' consonant has the effect of making the second syllable seem a trifle longer than the first--a fact which is reflected in the Munster practice of assigning forward stress to *salach* and to *turus*. In this respect such words contrast with other words like *crochta*, *scaifte*, *machnamh* in which a consonantal element in the middle of the word makes the initial syllable seem the longer; similarly, with words like *milleann*, *lomair* where both syllables end in a consonantal element of roughly equivalent length, with the result that both syllables appear to have approximately equal quantity.² To the extent that such quantity relationships are exploited for ornamental purposes in poetry it is generally the case that syllables containing long vowels or diphthongs are involved. We earlier had occasion to examine in some detail the stanza from Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig's poem *Abhar deargtha leacan do mhnaoi Chuinn é* (ND 1:12), which contains an excellent example of this sort of ornamentation in the penultimate foot of each line in the first stanza (see above, p. 91). Similarly, the following stanza from Aogán ó

Rathaille's poem *Faoi lár na lice seo* (FF:113) demonstrates the poet's awareness of relative syllabic quantities and their potentiality for ornamental effect. In the penultimate foot of each line two short syllables are followed by a long syllable; the first of the two short syllables, which receives the stress, contains the 'short unrounded' vowel, while the unstressed long syllable nevertheless achieves a degree of prominence not only by virtue of its length vis-a-vis the other two syllables but also through its containing the assonantal diphthong -ia-:

Faoi /lár na /lice seo /curtha tá an /ollaphiast
 /reamhar
 Do /chráidh le /dlighthibh an /fhuirionn ba /mhinic
riamh/iteann
 Dob' /fhearrde /mise, a's gach /nduine atá ag
 /fulangpian /Gall,
 An /bás dá /sciobadh tá /tuilleadh agus /fiche
bliadhain /ann.

12.3 Usefulness of verse ornament to the analyst

Ornamentation, perhaps more than any other feature of versification, carries with it information of significance not only within the context of the poem in which it is found, but also to the student of literature and of language generally. As Prof. ó Cuiv has himself convincingly demonstrated, clues supplied by the ornamental system of a stanza may enable an editor to guess very precisely what the poet originally had in mind, in the case of a poem having suffered through faulty oral transmission.³ Perhaps even more basic, however, is the necessity that a would-be editor possess a thorough understanding of the structural importance of ornament within the line and within the stanza. It may seem unnecessary to mention such an elementary requirement, but a glance through some of the anthologies used in the compilation of the present sample will reveal that a startling number of otherwise fine editors occasionally ignored the evidence provided by ornamentation, where greater attention to it would have led to a printed layout more likely to reveal the structure of the verse to the reader.

Ornament--particularly vowel ornament--is also very useful to the analyst seeking to establish the geographical and/or chronological origin of a text or textual variant. He must, however, proceed with caution, as it would appear that poets in some cases felt free to borrow forms from other dialects as it suited them. Prof. ó Cuív observes that words containing the orthography -ao- were particularly vulnerable in this respect, with the result that one may find '-ao- pronounced as /i:/ in Munster poetry or as /e:/ in Ulster poetry' (1979:118). Confirmation of this practice is to be found in our sample, as in the following stanzas from the Connemara poem *Thíos i nInis Bó Báine* (CO:129). Note that in the first stanza the word *tsaoghail* is clearly meant to rhyme with words containing long /e:/, while in the second stanza *saoghal* in the last line would appear to rhyme with *chroidhe*, and thus contain the long vowel /i:/:

Thíos i nInis Bó Báine tá teach ag mo mháithrín fhéin,
 Neil is í dhul thar an átha is thug sí bád fá mo dhéin.
 Dúthaigh 'gus feilm le fagháil ann 's mo rogha ar
 mhnáibh óga an tsaoghail,
 'S go mb'fhearr liom aon phóigín amháin is cead
 cainnte le grádh mo chléibh.

Brón ort-sa, a Phaidí Sheáin Mhóir, is ná haithris go
 deo orm é,
 Dá dtéighinn-se leat insa ród ar leath-chead mo
 chomhairle féin;
 Thuill tú milleán ró-mhór uaim is maithim dhuit ó
 mo chroidhe,
 Agus leat-sa rachainn ag ól thar fhear ar bith beo sa
 saoghal.

Similarly, as both ó Cuív and ó Donnchadha have pointed out, a poet may choose to use or modify older forms of words to suit his requirements; this is the phenomenon which ó Donnchadha terms *seanfhuaim*. Most commonly this takes the form of restoring lost medial consonants, resulting--to use ó Cuív's examples--in the likes of /tavər'/ for *tabhair*, rather than the more usual /tu:r'/ or /taur'/, or /se:gəl/ rather than /se:l/ for *saoghal* (ó Cuív, *loc. cit.*).

Texts of all kinds are, of course, stock in trade of the historical linguist, and texts containing accentual verse may be of greater value than others as such poetry often depends heavily upon

local dialect pronunciation for its artistic integrity. Particularly in the case of an area where no sound recordings were made, or from which none survive, and where the Irish language has died out, assonantal systems in verse can be of great value in allowing one to guess at what sorts of vowel sounds in a dialect the local community might have accepted as 'allophones' of a given poetic phoneme. At the same time, the analyst must bear in mind that such equivalences need not have been phonetically exact (cf. ó Cuív's discussion of 'parameters') and that the precise sound of the vowels participating in the assonantal system will most likely remain a matter for speculation.

Finally, the practice of ornamentation--which, as we have seen, is extremely variable both in terms of the ornamental devices used and the degree to which some or all of them may be employed in the context of a single poem--will provide an important focus to the student of the poetic literature itself who may, in the case of some of the more accomplished poets, be able to attribute innovative stylistic features of one sort or another to specific individuals. We have already had cause to comment, for example, on Pádraigín Haicéad's fondness for unstressed assonantal ornament: further enquiry may well reveal that he was something of an innovator in this respect. This type of research will only be possible, however, when scholars have accepted as a common denominator the general principles underlying the ornamentation of accentual verse, principles which evolved integrally with the verse itself as it was developed by folk poets over the centuries from the Old Irish period.¹⁰ It is these basic principles which we have been most concerned to identify and to examine in the present chapter.

1. We may question this principle in the case of (a) stanzas in which the end-rhyme consistently changes half-way through the stanza, provided a different pair of end-rhymes occurs in each stanza, and (b) poems in which all lines of all stanzas end in the same end-rhyme. In both cases the hearer may be in danger of perceiving the structure of the poem differently from the way it has been represented on the page. In some cases the discrepancy may be the result of faulty editing (e.g. representing as quatrains what should properly be set out as couplets, or as stanzas what may be paragraph form); syntactic boundaries will, of course, be the determining factor here, as stanzaic units inevitably possess syntactic integrity.
2. Some lines in this poem are more naturally interpreted in triple rather than duple rhythm, and this interpretation leads to a certain amount of ambiguity as regards the character of the final foot. While in duple rhythm the cadence is clearly meant to be felt as a disyllable, in triple rhythm it would seem more natural to regard the cadence as having three syllables, as here in the fourth stanza:

Na /beacha do /chreachadh gé /drochmhúinte,
 Is /measa dhuit ort /aifir na /gcloch gcumhdaigh
 do /cheangail fear san /Aifric go /rochlúththa
 bheith 'na /seasamh i /gcaiseal do /ghoib úirghil.

This ambiguity is not really surprising considering the marked preference, which we have noted previously, for triple rhythm in the context of the two- and three-stress *rosc* metres; see above, Ch. 3.

3. de Bhaldraithe 1966:12-4.
4. Mhac an Fhailigh 1968:15; de Búrca 1970:13.
5. ó Cuív 1944:18-9; R. B. Breathnach 1947:12.
6. ó Cuív 1944:24-6, 100; R. B. Breathnach 1947:18-19, 118-19; de Bhaldraithe 1966:19, 86-7; Mhac an Fhailigh 1968:21, 136; de Búrca 1970:18-19, 116.
7. Examples surveyed included types 2.1 (a)-(b); 2.2 (e)-(j); 2.3 (k)-(p); 3.1 (a)-(e); 3.2 (f)-(l); 3.3 (n)-(q); 4.123 (a)-(p); 5.12 (a)-(n); 6.123 (a)-(f) and (m)-(r); 7.123 (a)-(o); and 8.12 (a)-(s).
8. I have discussed these points in somewhat greater detail elsewhere; see Blankenhorn 1981:235-7.
9. See his emendations of a stanza from W. Cork recorded in *Scéalaíocht Amhlacibh Uí Luínse* (1979:114) and of a couplet from *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (1979:119), both of which he has subsequently confirmed from manuscript sources.

10. Professor ó Cuív has argued in yet another article (1967-8:290) that strict *dán díreach* emerged in the twelfth century as a development of *ógláchas* forms which had been practiced for centuries before--the highly polished form thus resulting from the less perfect one. He thus demonstrates that it would be wrong to think of *ógláchas* as some sort of debased form of *dán díreach*. In much the same fashion I believe that we must view the highly polished accentual versification of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Munster as representing the conscious artistic development by a few poets of forms practiced among common people for centuries, and that it is wrong to take the view--as some scholars over the years have done--that accentual verse began in seventeenth-century Munster, and that all other popular verse represents nothing more than a sad declension from that golden age.

13 : THE MUSICAL CONTEXT OF VERSE

13.0 It has long been the practice in Ireland to dissociate the study of poetry, whether syllabic or accentual, from the musical context of that poetry, in spite of abundant evidence that both types of verse were primarily intended not to be read but to be performed orally. Most of the anthologies used in our sample here--with a very few laudable exceptions--have been compiled with little or no mention of the musical context within which the poems would have been performed, even where we may assume such knowledge to have been within the grasp of the editors concerned; and latter-day editors have even abandoned the time-honoured practice, derived from that of the scribes, of indicating the name of a popular air as that to which a particular set of verses should be sung.

Fortunately, however, scholars have very recently begun to take an interest in the manner in which Irish poetry of all sorts has traditionally been performed, and to recognise that such investigation may cast new light upon the structure and character of the poetry itself. Some of these investigations are speculative, dealing with types of performance which were either extinct or moribund by the time it occurred to anyone that they should be recorded. Such speculations are nevertheless useful in throwing up material of value to scholars analysing living performance practices, and also in awakening the minds of scholars generally to the possibility that the musical dimension of verse may have something of value to contribute to the study of texts, and coincidentally to the editorial process.

The present chapter will be divided into two parts. In the first, we shall evaluate the work of those scholars who have most recently sought to shed light on various performance practices associated with Irish traditional verse. In this connexion we shall seek to define and briefly summarise the different types of performance which various categories of accentual poetry would have received. In the second part of the chapter we shall attempt to define and characterise the various levels of interaction between the

complementary, but not identical, metrical systems of verse and music in the period covered by our own study.

13.1 Verse categories and performance practices

Not for nothing have most of the accentual metres of Irish verse been collectively referred to down the centuries as *amhrán*: most of the poetry which we have examined in preceding chapters, and which forms the bulk of items in our sample, has owed its survival in at least some measure to its musical context. As A. M. Freeman discovered in Ballyvourney, to a traditional singer the text and its tune are an indivisible entity:

If you tell him that two of his songs have the same tune, he will answer that that is impossible, since they are different songs. If you then say, that the tunes are very much alike, he will agree, and look upon you as a musical genius for having noticed it. "What a marvellous thing" he will exclaim, "for a man who was not brought up in Irish to know so much about our songs!" For--may I repeat it?--the tune without the words is as a voice without a mouth. He thinks that you understand the song (that is, the words) so perfectly, that you have got the tune (Free.:xxv).

Notwithstanding this fact, however, it must be acknowledged that there are items among the corpus of verse that we have been examining for which it is difficult to imagine a musical setting, and for which none is explicitly indicated in manuscript or printed sources. In an article published in *Ceol* 4:iv, Pádraig A. Breatnach refers to 'the very formidable difficulty of separating the folksong tradition from the literary tradition of eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland' and goes on to question 'whether poems of the eighteenth century to which no tunes are assigned in the manuscripts...were in fact written to be sung' (1981:102). Poems such as the *barántas* compositions come to mind, as do poems employing more than one type of metre (*trí rann agus amhrán*, for example, or poems such as some by Dáibhidh ó Bruadair in which a number of different metres, both syllabic and accentual, may appear). And how about *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche*? It may be composed in a metre resembling *caoineadh*--but was it intended to be sung?' At the other end of the spectrum the same question may be asked of cer-

tain prayers and proverbs composed in accentual metres, a sample of which we saw in our discussion of two- and three-stress line-types. Does the fact that *caointe*--the principal type of verse for which these line-types were latterly used--were performed in a musical context necessarily imply that these prayers and proverbs would have been performed musically as well?

Perhaps it would be as well to approach this problem by undertaking, first of all, a brief survey of those types of composition which unquestionably would have been performed musically, and the various types of performance they would have received. Three scholars in particular have recently made valuable contributions, specifically in areas hitherto largely unexplored, and what follows draws heavily upon their findings and conclusions. They are Breandán Ó Madagáin, who has taken a particular interest in the various traditions of keening and other lament music, and who has recently published a detailed survey of singing and its importance in nineteenth-century Ireland; Pádraig A. Breatnach, who has invoked musical evidence in attempts to reveal the origins of modern Irish rhythmical verse, and its possible relationship with *dán díreach*; and Terence P. McCaughey who, following points raised by Dr Breatnach, has attempted further to refine our understanding of the character, in performance, of syllabic verse.²

13.1.1. *Popular song*

Types of songs traditionally sung among Irish country people illustrate virtually every aspect of everyday life. Up until the time of the Famine such songs would apparently have been sung not only as a leisure pastime on winter evenings, but at any and all times of day as accompaniment for every sort of occupation, whether the performance of the song were intrinsic to the task in hand or simply helped to relieve the drudgery of repetitive work. Songs of love and courtship (successful or unsuccessful, requited or unrequited); songs of praise (of heroes, political factions, priests, boats, animals, the poet's native place, saints or the deity); satires (on opposing political factions, the English, the landlords, inhospitable persons, or

neighbours who allow their cattle to stray onto the poet's field); laments (including both those sung in connexion with the death/funeral of a person, and those 'death songs' sung in commemoration of tragic events); humorous songs (husbands arguing with their wives, wives wishing their husbands to the devil, nonsense songs like *Amhrán na mBréag*); and many occupational songs (such as songs based on dance-tunes and possibly meant to accompany dancing, milking songs, dandling songs, lullabies, herding songs) are all amply attested in collections of Irish songs compiled over the last two centuries. With the exception of some of the laments all such songs are generally composed in the so-called *amhrán* metres, i.e. four- and five-stress line-types, six-stress *rócán* metre, all of the *ochtfhoclach* metres, and the commoner complex stanzaic forms. In addition the 4.2 line-type associated with so-called *caoineadh* metre, and the six-stress *croisantacht* metre are also used for popular songs, even where the subject-matter may have nothing to do with lament or with the *croisantacht* genre.

In textual terms such songs would seem to require stanzas of regular length and identical structure, generally couplets, quatrains, or more complex stanzaic forms. They are normally performed to tunes which are structurally coextensive with and metrically similar to the texts which they accompany, e.g. a four-line text will normally be sung to a four-line tune, and a text whose rhythmical character is triple and which employs a five-stress line-type will generally be accompanied by a tune in 3/4 or 6/8 time in which there are five principal accents per line.³ Performance by a solo singer is latterly the norm, although in some cases the presence of a refrain may reflect an earlier practice in which group participation may have played a part.

13.1.2. *Lament-music*

The only regular exception to these rules would appear to be that of lament-music, although even here what Prof. Ó Madagáin has termed the 'death songs', songs like *Anach Cuain* which are sung in circumstances other than those directly connected with the death, are

normally composed in regular stanzas using one of the *amhrán* metres. Other lament-music does, however, display features which set it apart from other types of popular song--a circumstance hardly to be wondered at in light of the unique status of death and its attendant rites within society. Prof. Ó Madagáin has summarised the types of musical lamentation attested in Ireland as (1) *caointeoireacht*, the largely *ex tempore* lamentation composed in two- and three-stress *rosc* metres and performed in the presence of the corpse by the *bean chaointe* or by the dead person's relations; (2) bardic *marbhna* or elegy composed by learned poets in syllabic metres in honour of aristocratic clients (it would seem to me likely that such compositions would have been performed some time after the funeral obsequies were concluded, although this may not have been true in every case); (3) learned and semi-learned *marbhna* composed in accentual metres by poets 'striving to maintain the traditions of the bardic poets'; (4) 'death-songs' composed in *amhrán* metres and sung to tunes not specifically limited to the lament context; and (5) instrumental laments composed for the harp (*cumha*) or the pipes (Ó Madagáin 1981:311, 327-8).

Caointeoireacht, Prof. Ó Madagáin shows, was very much a communal activity, and a not insignificant part of its function was that of structuring the obsequies, 'turning what might have been a private expression of grief into a dramatic communal performance' (1985:155 and note). The *caoine* was divided into two parts: what Ó Madagáin calls the 'dirge' was performed *ex tempore* by the *bean chaointe*, and was chant-like in character, whereas the *gol* or 'cry' may have been more florid musically and was taken up by other mourners between sections of the dirge.⁴ Textually the dirge was that part of the *caoine* in which the character, ancestry, physical appearance, heroic qualities, etc. of the dead person were described, and in which the grief of the bereaved was explicitly expressed; the *gol*, on the other hand, frequently contained no words aside from 'ochón', 'ariú', and similar vocables which allowed the singers to concentrate upon the expression of grief and emotion through music. Ó Madagáin cites a number of examples which

point to there having been a distinctive kind of music for the verse part of the keen (just as...there was a special music for the *gol* or cry); that melodically it was very

simple and chant-like, unlike song-tunes; that the same keening-tune could be used again and again, and might have been in use over a very wide area; and that possibly there was only a very limited repertoire of such tunes. It would appear that a single keener could vary the tune for a succession of stanzas (1981:317 and note).

The most obvious problem facing the *bean chaointe*--one with which the ordinary traditional singer does not normally have to deal--is that of setting verse paragraphs of varying length to the same music. Judging from the evidence of the two paragraphs from *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* which Liam de Noraídh collected from informants in Ballyvourney and Ring, it would appear that the musical structure of the 'dirge' or verse was intended to facilitate this. In 'A mhná na súile bog' (CM:28) Labhrás ó Cadhlaigh performs a six-line paragraph (CAL:11. 384-90) to a tune employing a two-line 'repeat', i.e. the tune appears three times in the course of the paragraph, the final line of the tune being replaced by what is clearly a cadential formula; the musical structure of the tune, as applied to this particular verse-paragraph, may thus be represented ABABAC, and it is easy to see how such a melodic structure could be expanded or reduced to accommodate paragraphs of greater or lesser length:

'A' [♩ = 92] **'B'**

A mhn - | á | na | súi - le | bog Stad-ai- | gí 'nbhúr ngol, | Go

'A' **'B'**

bhfaigh' mo lao gheal | deoch | Roimh é dhul is-teach | sa scoil, | 'Sní

'A' **'Cadence'**

'fogh - luim léighinn ná port Ach ag | iom - par cré 'gus cloch.

In the second of de Noraídh's examples, recorded from Máire Bean Uí Chonaill in Ballyvourney, a seven-line text is performed to a tune embodying a three-line repeat (CM:28). The odd number of lines requires a slight melodic modification in the penultimate line (so

that it not seem too final in character); the seventh and last line is again performed to what we may regard as a standard cadential formula:

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and consists of four staves. The first staff is marked with a tempo of [♩=104] and a key signature change to G major. The second staff continues the melody with a tempo of [♩=104]. The third staff features a tempo change to [♩=80] and includes a triplet. The fourth staff is marked 'Cadence' with a tempo of [♩=66] and ends with a double bar line. The lyrics are in Irish and are written below the notes.

The evidence of these two examples, scant as it is, is borne out by that of several other examples of lament-music quoted by de Noraídh. A diagnostic feature of so-called *caoineadh* metre, and one that it shares with the *rosc* metres as used in these keen texts, is that paragraphs may be of variable length; indeed, our sample includes several texts which are not broken up into sections at all, but which consist of a single unbroken series of lines from beginning to end. If we are to assume that such texts received musical performance--and indications are that we must, at least in many cases--then the singer must have had to deal with the same problem as that faced by the *bean chaointe* in the examples we have just seen. De Noraídh recorded four examples of *caoineadh* metre in performance, and in all of them the solution to the problem is the same, i.e. the melodic element is very short--in all of his examples the melody involves a simple two-line repeat--and is repeated as many times as the length of the textual unit requires. And the similarity to *extempore* keening is underlined by the fact that the music is rhythmically very simple and chant-like. As an illustration we may cite *Caoineadh don Athair ó Maonaigh*, which de Noraídh recorded from a Bean Mhic Dhomhnaill in Dungarvan in 1940: the text is eight lines in length, all of them conforming to line-type 4.2; the last line is set to a slightly altered melodic element which clearly serves the same function as the cadential formulae used in the two examples from *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghair*:⁵

'A' [♩ = 60] 'B'

'S mo chreach ghéar fha - da | a - gus n'a - tuir - se léir - chreach, | 1 -

tá mé | 1 bhfear(a)g leat a - gus b'an - namh liom(a) | féin sin!

'A' 'B'

Mar gheall ar do chail - is | a bbeith feadh na | hoi - che |

taobh leat, | éi - righ su - as a - tá u - air (e) | an lae 'gat,

'A' 'B'

Ar - daigh in áir - d'í ós (a) cionn cláir t'éa - dein, | Tabhair chun,

sol - ais don (a) pho - bal go | léir i | 'Sná lig aon sa - gart a |

shea - samh id' éi - de, | Mar-a dtiocfadh | brainse de mhuintir Khaonaigh!

Another of de Noraídh's examples, *Caoineadh an Bhuachalla Gabha* (CM:24), is significant for the reason that it demonstrates the way in which a singer was able to perform a stanza containing lines of different lengths. A not uncommon feature of *caoineadh* metre, as we have previously noted, is the free mingling of lines containing three stresses with lines of four stresses; items in our sample which fall into this category are listed as conforming to line-type 34.2. The text of the present example is of this type, the second line containing three stresses, while the other three lines each contain four:

Ní fo/láir dom /aithint nuair a /thánag fé'n /tsráid seo
 Nuair nár/chuala /fuaím it' /cheárdchain,
 A' /déanamh /glais /cruidhte ná /táirne,
 'S mo /chúig chéad /mairg mar is /marbh a /thárluigh.
 Abhú.

The singer uses a two-line tune, i.e. a tune with a two-line repeat, and in order to equalise the number of stresses in line two simply places an artificial stress on the word 'nuair'. The treatment of the word 'glais' in the third line is also of interest, falling as it does next to another fully-stressed word in the line, with no unstressed syllables intervening. The singer gets round this problem by

ornamenting the word 'glais', thus extending its length and preventing any disruption of the rhythm:

'A'

Ní fol - áir dom aithint nuair a thá - nag fé'n tsráid seo, Nuair nár

'A'

chua - la fu - aim it' cheárd chain, A' déa - namh glais - - - - - cruidd - te ná

'B'

táir - ne, 'Smo chú-ig chéad mair(ig) / mar is mar-(a)bh a tharlúigh.

'Cadence'

Abbú.

Although he makes no specific mention of texts in *caoineadh* metre, I think we may assume that ó Madagáin would include such texts in his third category, that of 'learned or semi-learned *marbhna*'. Such elegies were not, however, exclusively composed in *caoineadh* metre, as he shows in his discussion of Seán na Raithíneach's lament for Donncha Mág Cártha of Ballea Castle, Co. Cork, and of Diarmaid na Bolgai ó Sé's *Marbhna Mhic Fhinghin Duibh*, both of which are composed in quatrains using line-type 5.1. (1981:321-4). Such laments, he argues, resemble traditional *caointe* in their chant-like recitative style, and in their *gol*-like chorus of vocable syllables which may, as in the case of Seán na Raithíneach's lament, be simply a series of alternating vowel sounds uttered on the same pitch, or alternatively consist of a word like 'ochón' or 'abhú', as in the example quoted above.

ó Madagáin's most provocative suggestion, arising from such examples, is that the performance style attested for the learned and semi-learned *marbhna* in accentual metre may reflect that of the earlier bardic *marbhna* in syllabic metre--and, by extension, of syllabic verse in general (1981:326). There is, of course, no empirical evidence in support of this, beyond the reports that we have of such verse having been performed, by the *reacaire*, to the accompaniment of the harp. In justification of his belief, insofar as it concerns the two sorts of *marbhna* verse, ó Madagáin points out that

With the demise of the court poets as a profession in the seventeenth century, following the destruction of their aristocratic patrons, the part-time poets who succeeded them strove to maintain their learning and traditions with all the conservative devotion of an elite whose ideal world had been shattered. One should expect that nowhere would their backward-looking disposition be more evident than in the composition of elegies, and indeed for a very long time the elegies composed by them showed scarcely any difference from those of the bardic poets, other than the change to stressed metre (1981:321).

As additional support for his argument he cites the evidence of the *laoithe fiannaíochta*, poems originally composed in syllabic metres, oral performances of which have been latterly recorded in both Ireland and, more plentifully, in Scotland. Not only are these performances, like those of the accentual *marbhna*, generally chant-like in character, but there are important textual similarities as well, both types of verse illustrating the traditions and values of an heroic society. The same could, of course, be said of *cacine* verse, and it may well be that the original source for the chant-like character of bardic *marbhna*, if we accept ó Madagáin's suggestion, may have been the type of performance associated with the verse-element of *cacinteoireacht* down to our own century.⁶

13.1.3 Prayers

With regard to the possible sung or chanted performance of prayers, ó Madagáin makes several observations of interest:

A rich collection of short prayers has been preserved which were said on various occasions throughout the day, or commencing various tasks. Many of them are in verse, but whether some of them were formerly sung or chanted or spoken in recitative is, unfortunately, not clear. In some of these there would seem to be only a thin line--at least in use and function--between prayer and charm, or between that and occupation song (1985:167-8).

He goes on to cite reports from Scotland that a prayer used for smooing the fire at night was chanted or intoned, although he notes that this prayer 'is always spoken in current Irish tradition' (*loc. cit.* 168 and notes). It seems to me that the difficulty here lies in

defining precisely what we mean by 'speech' as opposed to 'chant'. Few, surely, would disagree that the utterance of prayers--whether they be composed in verse or in prose--is significantly different from ordinary speech, and the more familiar the prayer the more pronounced the differences are. The group recitation of very familiar texts, such as those in the rosary, is generally characterised by (1) rapid delivery, far more rapid than in normal speech, and (2) tone-groups of abnormal length, resulting from marked absence of internal pauses, even where phrasing might normally require one, and from suppression of intonational features, with the exception of a simple falling tone to signal the end of an utterance. It would seem to be but a short step from this sort of performance to one in which the monotonous character of the intonation became regularised, i.e. acquired a recognisable and uniform pitch, and became what we would describe as chant. Chant is, clearly, no more than a sort of heightened speech, and it stands to reason that the sort of speech used in the utterance of prayers must be related to it, particularly in light of the fact that prayers are among the earliest recorded chant-texts in the history of European music.

Of relevance here are, of course, other sorts of ritualised utterances. Ó Madagáin cites

deilín an bhacaigh, the beggar's 'litany', a long rigmarole, partly religious, in verse and prose, with which in more leisurely and charitable times the beggar made his solicitations. Ó Muirgheasa described it as 'cineál de rannaidheacht, nó "sing-song"' [a kind of recitation or sing-song]. One gathers that it was delivered as an incantation or recitative (1985:168-9 and notes).

In this connexion one immediately thinks of other sorts of street cries, the cries of newspaper or fruit vendors (Dublin's Moore Street market provides numerous examples), or the ritualised rhymes and playground taunts of children. Common denominator of all such utterances is their familiarity to their users, familiarity which all but robs the words themselves of individual significance and transforms the whole utterance into, as it were, a single word with a single meaning. Interpretation of individual words in the text thus being rendered unnecessary, it becomes possible to reduce the normal

paralinguistic features to an absolute minimum. In some cases--I think particularly of street vendors--the words may be practically obliterated, yet the vendor nevertheless manages to convey his message, because everyone else in the street recognises the particular shape of his distinctive cry, and knows the meaning of the unintelligible words behind it.

13.1.4 *Seventeenth-century Munster verse*

Like Prof. ó Madagáin, Pádraig Breatnach is interested in the possibility that the performance practices connected with what he terms 'early *amhrán*' (by which he appears to mean the learned and structurally ornate verse of 17th- and 18th-century Munster, as attested in manuscript collections) may reflect those of the learned bardic poetry in syllabic metres which preceded it. In his article in *Ceol* 4:iv he addresses the question: 'to what extent are poems in *amhrán* metre to be regarded as songs whose tunes we may or may not be fortunate enough to discover in the musical repertoire of the modern *amhránaí*?' (1981:102). He demonstrates that it may, indeed, be possible to perform 17th-century *amhrán* texts to tunes currently attested among traditional singers, but goes on to ask why, if this be the case, manuscript collections of works by the likes of Dáibhidh ó Bruadair omit all reference to airs--unlike the later collections of 18th- and 19th-century poetry in which airs are regularly indicated. He suggests as a possible reason for this that the reader may simply have been expected to supply a suitable air of his own choice from among the known traditional repertoire of tunes. At the same time, however, he questions whether it is in fact possible to supply, from among attested airs, settings entirely appropriate both structurally and temperamentally to 17th-century learned texts, these being so much more accentually and ornamentally ornate than later examples of *amhrán* poetry. In short, he doubts that such poetry was even intended to be sung in the same fashion that texts in *amhrán* metres are sung today (1981:103-5).

If present-day 'folk' airs must be considered unsuitable for the performance of 17th-century learned accentual verse, then what sort of

performance did such verse in fact receive? (That it was sung in some manner we cannot doubt, he argues: the use of the term '*amhrán*' by the poets themselves to indicate accentual verse precludes any other conclusion). His answer to this question hinges on the interpretation of poetry in which more than one type of metre may be used in the same poem, e.g. poems in syllabic metre which may have an *amhrán ceangail* at the end, poems in which more than one *amhrán* metre may be used, or poems in which *dán díreach* and *amhrán* metres alternate throughout. Certainly it is difficult to imagine a musical setting for such poems, given what we know about the repertoire of tunes available in our own time. Dr Breathnach's answer to this difficulty is to assume that the performance of such 'mixed' verse--and, by extension, of all learned *amhrán* poetry of the period--reflects earlier rather than later practice, i.e. that associated with *dán díreach*, which according to reports 'was recited or declaimed to the accompaniment of harp music' (1981:106). Further, he cites the evidence of the Ossianic lays in support of his argument that the 'declamation or recitation' of syllabic verse must have been some sort of chant. He quotes the Rev. William Matheson's description:

Dán was a chant sung in free rhythm with constant shifting of the musical accent as determined by variations in the number and position of stresses (Matheson 1970:149).

Finally, he refers to Prof. Ó Madagáin's similar conclusions, based upon the evidence of learned *marbhna* in accentual metres, in support of his argument that the performance of 17th-century *amhrán* poetry had more in common with that of earlier *dán díreach* than it did with that of later accentual verse.

There may be something to be said for Dr Breathnach's argument, particularly if one considers the probability that 17th-century learned poets sought to preserve the elite status of their tribe by distancing their compositions as much as possible from those of the common people. But the suggestion--if he means to make it--that no other sort of music existed for the performance of *amhrán*-type poetry than that formerly used for the performance of *dán díreach* must be discounted. The structure of accentual verse itself belies such a suggestion: after all, the learned poets of 17th-century Munster were

basing their compositions in accentual metre upon the model of earlier popular verse-forms with which traditional airs were associated. The melodic structures of such airs as we now find in the traditional repertoire can be traced back to the twelfth century in Europe, and there is no reason to suppose that their first appearance in Ireland was delayed until the eighteenth century.

It is thus necessary, if one wishes to accept Dr Breatnach's argument, to view the possible performance of *amhrán* verse in the manner of *dán díreach* as an aberration rather than a general practice, an aberration brought about as a result of the poets' wish to maintain the same distance between their own productions and those of common versifiers as was formerly maintained between the aristocratic poetry of the courts and that of those uninitiated into its mysteries. In addition it is, it seems to me, necessary to take the evidence of learned *marbhna* with a grain of salt: lament-poetry undoubtedly occupied a unique position within the canon, regardless of social class. It may, therefore, be unwise to place too much faith in the performance practices associated with lament-poetry as a reflection of practices affecting other types of verse, whether syllabic or accentual.

On the other hand there is, it seems to me, a case to be made for at least some of the productions of learned 17th- and 18th-century poets not having been intended for sung performance at all, notwithstanding the fact that the metres employed may have been referred to by the poets themselves as '*amhrán*' metres: the word '*amhrán*' must surely, by this period, have been used as much to indicate a particular class of metre as to denote a particular type of performance, and there is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that compositions employing *amhrán* metres need not necessarily have been sung, but could equally well have been chanted, declaimed, recited or even read silently from a manuscript source. Irish scholars have long recognised the importance of manuscript collections as literary and historical sources, and there can be little doubt that, however much we may rightly emphasize the oral nature of bardic versification, the written word occupied an important place in that section of society occupied by the bardic poets and their aristocratic patrons. The existence of

the Irish bardic tracts, and of the family *duanaíre* prized by the patrons of the bardic poets, testifies to the fact that the written word was held in considerable esteem, if only as a means of setting down in permanent form, for posterity, documents of importance to the groups of people involved--whatever reference may or may not have been made to such documents on a regular basis. Another substantial class of manuscripts includes those kept by poets and scribes themselves, 'commonplace books' in which they gathered together their own and other poets' compositions. Occasionally these contain short compositions of a personal nature which were clearly not intended for a wide public audience, or literary *jeux d'esprit* intended, at the most, for the delectation of other poets who might be lent the manuscript; Micheál óg ó Longain's manuscripts contain a number of examples of this sort of poetry--poetry of a character hardly likely to have been given the full treatment with *reacaire* and harp. A similar situation may have existed with regard to some accentual verse: what, for example, are we to make of the *barántas* compositions, which after all are modeled upon written legal documents, and for which musical settings are seemingly not indicated? If Daniel Corkery is to be believed, the *cúirt-eanna filíochta* of 18th-century Munster were hardly gatherings of the illiterate, considering the amount of time that the poets spent copying out one another's manuscripts (1967:95-125); indeed, Tomás ó Fiaich has pointed out that a great many priests participated in these gatherings, and a priest's religious training would no doubt have resulted in his being one of the most literate people in the Ireland of his day (ó Fiaich 1975:31-3). These courts of poetry were the heirs to the bardic schools; many of the poets who frequented them were those responsible for that elaboration of accentual forms characteristic of the productions of the 17th and 18th centuries; and the possibility cannot be excluded that some of the compositions of these poets--whether *barántais* or other compositions--may have been meant to be appreciated in written form, either instead of or in addition to being recited, or declaimed, or chanted, or sung, in the presence of the *cúirt* itself.

The experience of A. M. Freeman, in the course of his field-work in Ballyvourney, clearly reflects the importance of manuscript traditions in the transmission of Irish poetry in our own century. In

connexion with the song *Bearta Crúa II* Freeman reports that his informant's version was 'substantially the same as that in *The Poems of Eoghan Ruadh* [ó Súilleabháin, ed. Dinneen, 1907]', and makes a number of illuminating further remarks:

A distinguished scholar, on reading [*Bearta Crúa I*] in *Journal*, No. 23, asked if the words "an méid ná sluig an talav díov" were truly reported. I will therefore take the opportunity afforded by the word "leabarchúacha" [in *Bearta Crúa II*, l. 7] of writing a note, which would perhaps have been more suitable attached to song No. I. When I had taken down this verse I said: "How would 'leauarchúacha' do here, instead of 'leabarchúacha'?" and the singer's answer was: "It would do better, I think; but it was 'leabarchúacha' in the book I got it from." It struck me several times, while I was collecting, that certain strange forms in the words I took down were remarkably like misprints; and here we have an ascertained instance of a misprint being respected by a singer, whose knowledge of Irish is amply sufficient to enable her to correct a common error in a book, if she suspected the possibility of error. But the esteem given to the printed word by the true Irish is loyal and absolute--and very pathetic, when we consider the nature of the text in some popular editions intended for circulation in the Irish districts--and there are few to whom it would occur that they themselves might know better than the man who made the book. In song No. I "An méid ná sluig an talav díov" is of course not strictly speaking a misprint. But the poem very likely came into the district, no matter at how many removes, from someone who read it in manuscript; and the mark of aspiration is only too easily omitted. Without speculating as to the state of a hypothetical MS., I would suggest that this phrase was either wrongly written, or wrongly read in the first instance, as "nár sluig" or "ná sluig," and that the line of singers between Mr. Conchlan and the MS. have cherished the form as "focal seanaghaoluinne"--i.e. an expression differing from those used in their own colloquial speech. ... Such experience as I have yet been able to have leads me to conclude that there is often little or no connection between garbled texts and the encroachments of English. ... Corruptions are due, I think, in the first place to the difference between everyday speech and the language of "Munster Poetry," and their perpetuation to the singer's reverence for his text. This he regards as a work of great learning and high antiquity, which cannot be wrong; and he resents improvements or criticism except by people for whose learning he has special respect (Free.:317-8).

We may perhaps assume that this veneration for the written word came about--among a people whom we are always encouraged to believe had a nearly exclusively oral culture--as a result of the importance of

manuscript traditions at a time when writing, and the compilation of manuscript collections, were the privilege and the province of an elite determined to emphasise the cultural superiority of their own achievements at the expense of those of the common people. The common people, as Freeman's account sadly testifies, appear to have learnt this lesson all too well.

13.1.5 *Performance of Ossianic lays and other syllabic verse*

Because the performance of *dán díreach* has been the subject of so much speculation, and because both ó Madagáin and Breatnach have invoked the evidence of the *laoithe fiannaíochta* in support of their conclusions, it is in order here to pursue their arguments a bit further. Terence McCaughey questions the widely-expressed view that in the recorded performances of *laoithe* we have a clear indication of how *dán díreach* would have been performed. He reckons that there may be some justification for this view, both on metrical grounds and on the basis of evidence from the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* which contains a number of what appear to be narrative apologues excerpted from praise-poems; these apologues would appear to have found an extended life in oral repertoires as a result of their narrative interest, this circumstance accounting for their inclusion in the Dean's book (1984:40-42).

Nevertheless, McCaughey warns against a too-ready acceptance of latter-day performance of the *laoithe* as the model for *dán*. Specifically, he demonstrates how the natural stress-timed nature of the Gaelic language, with stresses rather than syllables being isochronous, has latterly become exaggerated in the musical context so that performance of *laoithe* by many singers has come to involve the regular stressing and destressing of alternate syllables, thereby raising to positions of stress many syllables which would not normally receive it; he calls this process of rhythmical regularisation 'flattening out'. In contrast he draws attention to a performance of *Laoidh Fhraoich* by the Rev. William Matheson, himself a noted Gaelic scholar, which preserves much more natural word-stress. Both types of performance demonstrate features commonly associated with accentual verse,

such as the occurrence of the same number of stresses in each couplet (eight), and the occurrence of silent stresses at the ends of lines containing an odd number of stresses. McCaughey's overall conclusion, William Matheson's style notwithstanding, is that

singers of the twentieth century show a general tendency to increase the tempo in performance and rhythmically to 'flatten them out'.... Caution must therefore be exercised in using their performance as an indication of how *dán* may have sounded in performance (1984:54).

Additionally, McCaughey argues, such comparison may be risky if it fails to take into account (a) the vernacularisation of texts of *laoithe*, resulting often in considerable textual corruption and faulty metre, and (b) the possibility that there may have been more than one way of performing the same song--possibly a difference between public and private performance--which may or may not be reflected in the fact that there are at least two different terms used in Scottish Gaelic to refer to these compositions, i.e. *laoidh* and *duan*.

Finally, he suggests that the performance practice associated with 'vernacular *dán*'--a term used in the Scottish context to indicate court praise-poetry composed in syllabic metre, but employing vernacular rather than classical Gaelic--may offer a more valuable clue to the performance of *dán díreach* than does that latterly associated with the *laoithe*. The performance of vernacular *dán* seems, in his analysis, 'to have maintained the shifting stress referred to [by William Matheson: see p. 376 above] and to have avoided the process of rhythmic "ironing out" we have observed in the case of [some performances of *laoithe*]' (1984:57). If this be indeed the case it is likely that the performance of syllabic verse in a rhythmically free, chant-like fashion had more to do with the social context in which such performance took place than it did with the poetry's having been composed in syllabic metre: the praise-poems were largely composed for and appreciated by an elite, whereas the *laoithe* belonged to all sections of Gaelic society and were perpetuated at all levels.

Finally Dr McCaughey concludes that it may be possible to 'assume that the tunes used by people like the *Piobaire Dall* or *Domhnall mac*

Fhionnlaigh nan dán or Dáibhidh ó Bruadair or Séamas Mac Cuarta were at least of a type similar to those used for *dán díreach* and that 'authentic performances of songs in vernacular *dán*, free...from the transformations endemic in the process of vernacularization, may be regarded as being more immediately indicative than the twentieth-century performance of *laoithe* of how *dán díreach* may originally have sounded' (*loc. cit.*). Presumably McCaughey is here referring to syllabic poems by ó Bruadair and Mac Cuarta rather than to their output of accentual verse: he does not appear to be taking the final step in the direction of Dr Breatnach's position. It may, however, be possible to take that final step provided--and this is crucial--that we limit our field of vision to praise-poetry. It would be logical enough if the performance style associated with *dán díreach*, and latterly with vernacular *dán*, were to have been transferred to the new metrical context when accentual metres were adopted for the composition of formal praise-poetry. This would have had the advantage of making the use of accentual metre seem less 'common', more aristocratic, always an important consideration to the court poets. It should not blind us, however, to the fact that the accentual metres which these poets adopted had much humbler origins and would doubtless originally have evolved in association with tunes more like those to be found in the contemporary song repertoires of Europe, and indeed of Ireland, in preceding centuries.

13.1.6 *A musical origin for accentual verse?*

In a second article on accentual versification (1983:54-71), Pádraig Breatnach has put forward suggestions regarding the ultimate origins of such verse in Ireland which it would be wrong to ignore in the present context. The question he asks is basically this: do the musical structures attested for Irish traditional song take the shape they do in response to the metrical requirements of the verse they accompany? Or, on the other hand, can the presence of accentual metres in Ireland--some of them bearing marked resemblance to European metrical types--be attributed to the international dissemination of

certain musical forms? More simply stated, the question resolves itself into the 'chicken-and-egg' dilemma: which came first, the verse-forms or the tune-forms?

To begin with, he notes the arguments of Petrie, Sharp and O'Sullivan to the effect that certain groups of song-tunes--four-line structures--may be classifiable according to criteria supplied by the metre of their accompanying texts (1983:62-4). In contrast, he recalls the view of W. P. Ker that the international distribution of the 3A+B verse structure *ochtfhoclach bec* may have come about through the influence of that structure's musical context, and asks whether the origin of Irish accentual metrical forms might lie in musical forms, rather than the musical forms taking their shape from verse metre. He suggests that there is evidence in support of this view in the Irish context, i.e. (a) the traditional association of words and music suggested by the term '*amhrán*', and (b) the lack of verse prototypes of *amhrán* verse--rhythm or strophic structure--in early sources.⁷ The evidence of syllabic metres is no help, he argues, because it is impossible to say what would be involved in the process of making a fully-stressed metre out of one by nature unrhythmical. (In this latter judgement he is depending upon a pronouncement of Thurneysen's; unfortunately his article appeared before McCaughey demonstrated how simply, in fact, a stressed metre may be made out of a syllabic one.) He crowns his argument with a discussion of the 7.3 *ochtfhoclach* type of metre, suggesting that it may have its origins in a type of Latin hymn-poetry, the musical context of the latter being the important link between the two (1983:66-8).

We have already had occasion to examine this last proposition in some detail (see above, §5.3); its fault lies in the fact that the Latin and Irish verses that he invites us to compare are structurally dissimilar, the Irish examples demonstrating an unequivocally phrasal structure totally lacking in the Latin ones. The musical structure of whatever type of air may have accompanied the Latin verses is not discussed, presumably because no music has survived; it is therefore not possible to say what metrical forms, other than those of the Latin poetry, such music might have implied or, indeed, how suitable or un-

suitable it might have been in the context of the Irish examples he cites.

The relationship between a verse-text and its tune is a symbiotic one, in a cultural if not always in a structural sense. This symbiosis works in two ways. On the one hand, it is widely--and no doubt correctly--recognised that a great many texts have come down to us in oral tradition because of their association with strong airs, texts which in many cases would probably have long ago been forgotten were it not for this association. Music is clearly a powerful mnemonic aid to the retention and preservation of an oral text, particularly if both the text and its air have well-defined and complementary (if not necessarily identical) metrical structures.

At the same time it is also true that the preservation of an air may be the result of its association with a certain text or corpus of texts. A good example is afforded by the music of *caointeoireacht*: as long as the practice of keening remained alive the tunes associated with it remained in the public memory, but the fact that keen texts were composed largely *ex tempore* for specific occasions has meant that, with the demise of *caointeoireacht* in Ireland, the tunes associated with the practice have largely died out of the public repertoire. So, while it may be more difficult to memorise words in the absence of an accompanying tune, it may also be difficult to recall a tune once the words, specific to a single occasion and perhaps heard only once, have faded from the memory.

Structurally, too, the tune and its text may reinforce each other. Countless examples could be cited to demonstrate the ways in which a tune is adapted to the peculiar needs of a given text; we shall be examining some of these ways in the next section. To some extent it may even be said that the shape of a text dictates the shape of the air. Here again, the keening tradition affords a good example: the music accompanying the 'dirge' sections of a keen had, of necessity, to be more flexible in terms of rhythmic character and length than was the case with a song-tune in which melodic structure is less dependent upon the accompanying text. But even in the latter case, one need only recall the many shapeless performances of 'slow airs' by mu-

sicians unaware of the fact that they were once sung to understand the contribution which may be made to an air's structure by its accompanying text.

Dr Breatnach's hypothesis is, of course, the reverse of this, namely, that the shape of an air may determine the type of verse composed to it, and specifically that a new type of air, previously unattested in Ireland, may have inspired a new style of versification. It is undoubtedly true that the popularity of an air may be the initial inspiration to a poet choosing the form of a new composition. Indeed, the greater popularity, attested in our sample, of certain metrical forms as opposed to others (I think particularly of *ochtfhoclach* forms of all kinds) probably has a good deal to do with the number and popularity of suitable tunes circulating in tradition at any given time.

This is not the same, however, as saying that a class of tunes, imported from without and embodying a set of metrical features hitherto unattested in a given verse-contest, is by itself likely to inspire a totally new type of verse-metre. The only example of such a thing happening in Irish tradition may be that of ballad metre, and in that case all that was required was the adaptation of an existing seven-stress line--an adaptation, what is more, in the direction of simplicity rather than complexity. What Dr Breatnach is proposing is far more radical and, on the evidence of recent practice at least, it would appear quite unlikely that we should regard the presence of Latin hymn-tunes in Ireland as the *terminus a quo* of verse-type 7.3. Tunes by themselves have not got this power; and if they had, we should in this case expect such tunes to have inspired the Irish poets to compose verse structurally identical to the Latin verse. This, as we have already demonstrated, did not happen. Rather they composed verse resembling other types of *ochtfhoclach* verse in its phrasal organisation, and while not discounting the possibility of an ultimate European origin for such verse--given Ker's examples of *ochtfhoclach* verse from continental sources--it is far from established that Latin hymn-poetry should be included in our calculations.

Poets nowadays generally compose new songs on the model of old ones, that is, using the totality of the old song--tune and words--as their starting point. This was not always the case: the evidence of the 17th and 18th centuries suggests that poets were considerably more experimental in their approach to versification than they have been nearer our own time, particularly as regards the development of new stanzaic forms and the elaboration of ornamentation. On the musical side it would appear more than likely that new tunes were also being composed in this period in response to demand from the poets. (There is, of course, the possibility that the reverse was true, that the new verse-forms resulted from innovations on the part of musicians. This, however, I consider unlikely for the reasons that (a) we have no evidence of any such period of musical innovation, other than that connected with the phenomenal interest in dance which dates from the same period, (b) the poets had far more reason to wish to initiate change--to give respectability to accentual metres--than had those musicians primarily associated with the musical context of song, i.e. the harpers, and (c) in all likelihood it was the poets themselves who would, in most cases, have been the composers of the airs they were setting. To the traditional composer, as to the singer, the tune and text would have been an indivisible entity, both probably being composed as part of a single creative act. The composition of a traditional song need not have required two specialists à la Rogers and Hart.)

More recently, however, traditional composition appears to be less a matter of innovation than of choosing a model for a new song. In this process I think we must assume the text to be at least as important as the air in suggesting to the poet the form of his new composition: were this not the case, those differences which, subtle as some of them may be, are clearly to be distinguished between verse structure and musical structure would long since have been submerged. What, for example, makes it possible for six-stress *rócán* verse to maintain its structural integrity in spite of the fact that such verse is frequently performed in the context of a tune encompassing seven or eight stresses per line? Similarly, what is it about a tune that requires an ornament to be placed on every second pre-cadential stress in *ochtfhoclach*, but not necessarily upon the intervening stresses?

The answer is, in this latter case, nothing: rather, the phrasal structure of the verse makes this requirement, not some intangible feature of the tune. Returning once more to Dr Breatnach's suggestion, the fact that Latin hymn-tunes can be fitted to texts of the 7.3 type may be significant, if it is true, in that the presence of such music may have enlivened the environment for such productions. But if the music had some influence, then it stands to reason that the accompanying Latin text would have had an equal if not greater influence on the structure of the new Irish metre. It is this latter proposition, implicit in Breatnach's argument, which we cannot accept; for the differences between Latin hymn poetry and Irish 7.3 verse cannot be discounted, and must cast doubt upon his hypothesis insofar as it seeks to establish the origins of such verse.

13.2 'Poetic metre' and 'song metre'

James Ross, in the first part of his classification of what he calls 'sub-literary' Scottish Gaelic song poetry, makes clear the absolute necessity of distinguishing, for analytical purposes, between 'poetic metre' and 'song metre', i.e. between the metrical organisation of the verse as opposed to that of the tune (1954:217-9). His reasons for insisting upon such a distinction are, in the Scottish context, obvious: in a great many traditional songs the textual and musical elements are not coextensive. This is particularly true in the case of waulking songs, although other types of songs may be cited as well. One example may suffice, for those unfamiliar with Scottish Gaelic traditional song, to illustrate the problem. In Flora Mac Neil's performance of 'Bheir mi sgrìob do Thobar Mhoire', the musical structure suggests that the text is divided into a series of couplets, each of which is followed by a three-line chorus of vocable syllables. Each of the couplets, other than the first and--importantly--the fourth, begins with the line which formed the second half of the preceding couplet. The structure of the text, therefore, is one characterised by linked couplets, and may be represented by the formula abR, bcR, cdR, efR, fgR, ghR, the letter 'R' indicating the vocable refrain. Here is the text in full, as she sings it:

Bheir mi sgrìob do Thobar Mhoire
Far a bheil mo ghaol an comunn
E-ho hi dhiùraibh ó o i dhiù
E-ho hao ri ri, e-ho hao-ri 's na bho hu-o
E-ho hi dhiùraibh ó o hi dhiù

Far a bheil mo ghaol an comunn
Luchd nan leadan 's nan cùl donna
E-ho hi, etc.

Luchd nan leadan 's nan cùl donna
Dh'òladh a' fion dearg 'na thonnann.
E-ho hi, etc.

Bheir mi sgrìob dha'n Achaidh Luachrach
Far a bheil mo ghaol an t-uasal
E-ho hi, etc.

Far a bheil mo ghaol an t-uasal
Gheibhinn cadal leat gun chluasaig
E-ho hi, etc.

Gheibhinn cadal leat gun chluasaig
'S cùl mo chinn am bac do ghuaillleadh.
E-ho hi, etc.

This type of linked-couplet structure is very characteristic of Scottish Gaelic song whether a vocable refrain be present or not. The important fact is that the apparent strophic structure of the text is supplied by the music alone; it does not in any way represent the structure of the text. Most such song-texts maintain the same end-rhyme throughout, and are usually represented in printed sources in paragraph form, to avoid excessive repetition. In the present example, however, the real structure of the text is not paragraph form, but quatrains:

Bheir mi sgrìob do Thobar Mhoire
Far a bheil mo ghaol an comunn
Luchd nan leadan 's nan cùl donna
Dh'òladh a' fion dearg 'na thonnann.

Bheir mi sgrìob dha'n Achaidh Luachrach
Far a bheil mo ghaol an t-uasal
Gheibhinn cadal leat gun chluasaig
'S cùl mo chinn am bac do ghuaillleadh.

In performance, the only acknowledgement given to the original structure of the text is the break between the third and fourth strophes, where the line *Dh'òladh a' fion dearg 'na thonnann* is not

repeated at the beginning of the next strophe. Otherwise the stanzaic structure of the verse is completely obscured by that of its musical context.

By and large, this lack of complementarity between musical and verse units is not characteristic of Irish verse, where in the vast majority of cases one may expect poetic structure and musical structure to coincide with one another, at least insofar as stanzaic length is concerned. There are, however, areas where the correspondence between verse structure and musical structure is more problematical. In what follows we shall attempt, in the briefest fashion, to survey those areas in which verse structure and musical form might be expected to coincide, and shall pay particular attention to areas in which the rules governing the two separate metrical systems of poetry and music bring them into apparent conflict. We should emphasise at the outset that this part of the study has been based upon a relatively small sample, i.e. those few collections in our metrical sample which include tunes as well as texts. No doubt a more comprehensive study, including an examination of sound recordings, would expose many aspects of the interface between music and verse structure in far richer detail than we are able to do in the space available here.

13.2.1 Temporal structuring in verse and music

While the ornamental system of accentual verse operates within the parameters set up for it by the accentual structure of the poetry, and can thus be seen as acting in a subsidiary role vis-a-vis the accentual system, the musical organisation within which the poetry ultimately functions must be seen as a separate, non-subordinate system which, while it may parallel that of the verse structure at many points, need not necessarily do so. The two systems are similar, but not identical; and the fact is that, for all their similarities, different rules apply to the composition of music and the composition of verse, rules inherent in the two different media. This basic difference sometimes leads to what appear to be discrepancies; but it is necessary to understand from the outset that such discrepancies are

not necessarily evidence of textual or musical corruption, or even of a mismatch between tune and text, but rather indicative of the obvious fact that poetry and music are different by nature.

Both verse-metre and musical metre are basically mechanisms for the temporal organisation of sound. Both rely upon elements of repetition in order that the organisational structure be recognised by the hearer as a balanced and orderly one. As we saw in our examination of poetic metre, verse-units are built up in an hierarchical fashion, from the smallest elements--long and short syllables and their arrangement within the foot--to phrase- and line-lengths, until finally a stanzaic or even supra-stanzaic unity is achieved. The hearer's perception of regularity and balance is achieved through (1) the regulation of the number of syllables or of syllabic quantities within the feet, resulting in either a triple or duple rhythmic character in the stanza overall, (2) the regulation of the number of stressed syllables in the line, (3) regulation of the number of phrases in the line, and their length vis-a-vis one another, (4) regulation of the number of lines in the stanza (provided, of course, that the organisation is a stanzaic one), and (5) the placement of ornaments within the stanza in order to emphasise its phrasal and linear structure.

Musical structure relies upon many similar features. The musical equivalent to the metrical foot is the bar, which may be defined as a unit of sound beginning with a strong beat and lasting until the next strong beat, the length of all bars in the tune being perceived as more or less equivalent by the hearer. (As in the case of time-measurement in poetry, time-measurement in music--particularly in unaccompanied solo song such as concerns us here--must be understood to be more a perceptual phenomenon than one verifiable by empirical means.) Bars, however, differ from feet in that they very often contain subsidiary stressed beats, even when the prevailing rhythm of the tune is a triple one. Thus what we would analyse metrically as two consecutive feet in triple rhythm may be set to a single bar of music in 6/8 time; alternatively, of course, they may be set to two consecutive bars of 3/4. Musical rhythm, like that of verse, can be characterised as either triple or duple, although the obviousness of

the rhythmical pulse is subject to stylistic factors such as speed of performance, use of rubato, and ornamental complexity. Subject to the same stylistic factors, the length of all lines in a tune is normally the same, i.e. all contain the same number of bars, and sub-divisions within the line are usually in balanced arrangement.

In this matter of 'balance' there are differences between what is permissible in verse and that which is customary in music. In music, as in verse, the ear appears to prefer a line containing an equal, rather than an odd, number of strong beats. The difference is that, in most cases, the rules of music seem to require melodic units to contain either four such beats, or a multiple of four. As in verse, these beats may be either articulate or silent; in the latter case they are realised either by a rest (absence of sound), by a sustained note carried over from the previous bar, or occasionally by the artificial stressing of an unstressed syllable. Verse in which the line contains four, seven, or eight stresses presents no difficulty within such musical requirements. Verse containing six- or twelve-stress lines made up of three-stress phrases does present something of a problem in the musical context, as it requires musical acknowledgement of the internal silent stresses; and such acknowledgement in turn requires that an extra beat be added at the end of the line in order to bring the total up to an even number. The difficulty here is that frequent interruptions of this kind are normally avoided in music, as they tend to hinder the forward movement of the melody. We shall see some examples below illustrating the sort of compromise between the demands of verse structure and musical structure which is commonly invoked in these circumstances.

Six-stress *crosántacht* verse presents another problem: because it is made up of two-stress rather than three-stress phrases there are no internal silent stresses to justify the addition of musical beats to the line; but without the addition of such beats the line falls two beats short of an eight-beat musical unit, it not being possible to insert two beats' rest at the end of the line without bringing the song to a halt altogether. The solution normally appears to be that of squeezing the six stresses of the line into four bars of music; we shall see how this works shortly.

The case of the five-stress line is the only one in which the metrical requirements of the verse appear to have predominated over the customary musical requirement that a line contain either four or eight strong beats. Tunes used with texts in five-stress metre invariably have only six such beats in each line, one corresponding to each of the stresses in the verse, and a silent beat at the end of each line bringing the total up to an even number--a feature, if we remember, implicit in the verse itself.

13.2.2 *Stanzaic structure and melodic unity*

The sort of conflict between the stanzaic structure of verse and the melodic structure of the accompanying tune that we saw in the case of the Scottish Gaelic song a moment ago is not common in the Irish context. Only in the case of verse in paragraph structure would Irish tradition possibly display a similar phenomenon. We referred in the previous section to the performance of laments in *rosc* and *caoineadh* metres, citing examples collected by Liam de Noraídh. In all of those examples the melody was a simple two- or three-line repeating formula which could be used as many times as the length of the paragraph required. Thus there is a discrepancy between the length of the verse-unit (i.e. the paragraph) and that of the melodic unit. The force of this discrepancy is, however, generally mitigated at the end of the paragraph by a change or substitution in the melody which has the effect of imparting a greater sense of finality to the verse-unit. Thus even in these cases an attempt is made to provide a musical setting which as far as possible mirrors the structural unity of the verse.

Further evidence of this very basic type of melodic structure is to be seen in an Ulster song in praise of distilling, *An Dubh Dílis*, which is composed in paragraph form using the *rócán* line-type 6.1 (ACU:96-7). In this song, the tune is a simple two-part one, each part corresponding in length to one statement of the 6.1 unit. The text, however, contains an odd number of such units--nine in all--a circumstance which must have required the singer to adjust the air when he reached the final 6.1 unit in the text. Although neither Fr.

ó Muireadhaigh nor Dr. ó Baoill has commented on what sort of adjustment might have been made, we may guess that the singer might simply have omitted the first of the two melodic elements, using the second of them--with its greater feeling of melodic finality--for the final segment of verse.

A similar situation is also occasionally to be found in connexion with songs composed in quatrains--similar in that the length of the stanzaic unit and that of the musical unit are not the same. In *Bruach na Carraige Báine* (CM:26), a song which uses a 7.2 line-type, two statements of the tune are required to complete one four-line stanza; the same is true in the cases of *Cúl Tiugh na gCraobh* (CT:48) and *Cuan Bhinn Éadair* (ACU:43), both of which are also in quatrain form and use the *ochtfhoclach* line-type 8.1.

Very rarely does one find the reverse of the above situation, namely, a tune which appears to be longer than the text which it accompanies. The following is the setting given for the Ulster song *Tá mo chleamhnas á dhéanamh* by Seán óg and Manus ó Baoill in their collection *Ceolta Gael* (95). It will be noted that, while the melodic material used for the second stanza is nearly identical to that accompanying the first, the first line of verse two is significantly different, and is of a character which suggests the continuation of a melodic idea, rather than the initiation of one:

1. Tá mo chleamhnas á dhéan - amh in-niu a-gus in-né
 Is ní mó ná go dtait-níonn an bhean ú-daí liom féin;
 Ach fuig-fidh mé 'mo dhiaidh í is rach-aidh mé liom féin
 Faoi bhruach na coil - le craobh - aí.

2. Faoi bhruach na coil-le craobh-aí a chón-aí-onn sí,
 Tá'n guth aice is bin-ne ná an chuach is í ag glaoch.
 Tá'n com ai-ci is gil-e ná an ea - la ar an toinn.
 'Sí 'n cai - lín deas bán a bhfuil mé 'ngrá léi.

This technique is one which we more frequently find in the context of songs incorporating a refrain, particularly where the refrain takes the form of an additional stanza sung after every verse. A well-known example is that of *An Seandúine Dóighte* (CT:42), the air of which has long been recognised as a variant of *The Campbells are Coming*. In this song, however, the differences between the first half of the tune (the verse) and the second half (the refrain) are quite marked, only the last lines of each being identical. It could be that the air given to *Tá mo chleamhnas á dhéanamh* may have initially been sung to a song with a chorus.

Most songs, however, display no such discrepancies between stanza length and the length of the melodic unit. Standard four-line melodic forms may be represented by such formulae as AA'BA', ABBA, ABCB, and--

particularly in the context of four-stress line-types--ABCD. All are well-attested European song-forms, and their overwhelming predominance in the song repertoire of Ireland probably has a good deal to do with the similar predominance of the quatrain over other stanzaic structures in Irish verse.

13.2.3 *Linear and phrasal structure*

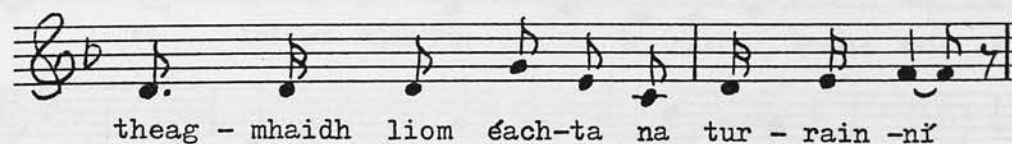
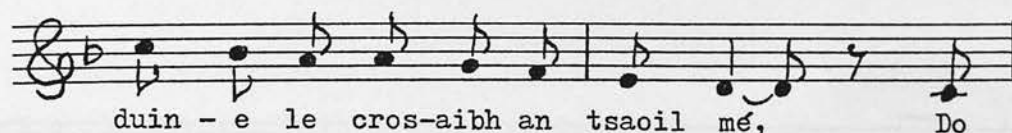
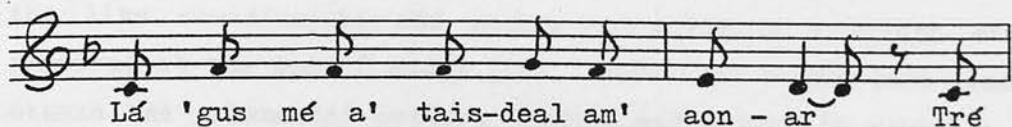
Most varieties of linear structure attested for Irish verse may be found in the context of tunes which successfully reinforce that structure in every respect. In order to judge whether this be true in an individual case, the analyst needs to ask himself a number of questions. First, does each line of the air contain the same number of stressed beats as there are stressed syllables in the equivalent line of the text? (Note that stressed beats, in the musical context, include those occurring in the middle of a bar of 6/8 or 4/4 time--i.e. secondary accents in the musical sense--as well as those standing at the beginning of a bar; in addition, a stress may be felt even if no separate note is assigned to it, as when a preceding note is held over, or a rest is inserted.) Second, do the melodic shape and rhythmic conformation of the melody give due prominence to syllables falling at important phrase-boundaries, thus reinforcing the phrasal organisation of the line? Third, are silent stresses occurring at caesura or cadence appropriately acknowledged by the insertion of a rest, or by a sustained note? Finally, are quantity relationships among syllables in individual feet respected, or has the rhythm of the air been regularised with the effect that such relationships are 'ironed out'? If any one of these questions cannot be answered affirmatively then the text will most likely suffer some distortion, however slight, in the context of the tune.

Before we look at some examples in which distortion has occurred it would be as well to examine some in which tune and text go, as it were, hand in glove. The song *Tá mé 'mo shuidhe* (CT:34) is typical of many songs composed using line-type 5.1:

Tá mé 'mo shuidhe ó d'Éi - righ 'n ghealach a - réir,
 Ag cur teineadh síos fa - raor 's á fa-dódh go géar.
 Tá bun-adh an toighe 'na luighe 's tá mi-se liom féin:
 Tá na coilligh ag glaoídh 's tá'n tír 'na gcodladh ach mé.

The rhythm of the poetry is characteristically triple, and the phrase-boundary between the second and third feet is consistently marked by *aicill* rhyme. As we can see, the musical setting reinforces this structure at all points: the time-signature chosen is 3/4; the ornamented syllables are given increased prominence by being assigned to semibreves rather than to crotchets; and relative quantities of syllables in the penultimate foot are reflected in the syncopated rhythm of the tune. The only fault that might be found with the air is that the silent stress at the ends of the lines has been ignored. This can most likely be explained as an oversight on the part of the transcriber, it being extremely improbable that the song, or any song composed on this particular pattern, would have been sung without a beat's pause between the lines.

Lá 'gus mé a' taisdeal am' aonar (ACF:121) is a song in *rócán* metre, of which we shall be seeing other examples shortly. This song is characterised by triple rhythm, reflected in the choice of the 6/8 time-signature for the air. *Aicill* rhyme provides a link across the mid-line caesura and involves the third and fifth stressed syllables in the line. The line ends in a trisyllable, the least common type of cadence attested for *rócán* verse:



The fact that the third and fifth stresses are involved in the *aicill* rhyme, rather than the third and fourth, could have created a difficulty, the fifth stress falling as it does on the secondary accent in the 6/8 bar. The problem has, however, been efficiently solved by making the tune take an upward leap on the words *aerach* and *éachta*. The silent stresses have been acknowledged with rests (the fact that both phrase-cadence and final cadence are polysyllabic no doubt is an advantage in that the rest need not be too long); and the treatment of the words *Biolarraighe* and *turraínní* at the cadences is appropriate, the longer note being allocated to the long final syllable of each word. The only room for criticism might be with regard to the words falling at the caesura, *aonar* and *tsaoil mé*: whereas in textual terms the quantity relationship between the first syllable and the second could be expressed in terms of a long:short ratio, the musical setting implies quite the reverse, setting the syllables *-ar* and *mé* to notes of longer value than those used to set the syllables *aon-* and *tsaoil*.

Another Donegal song, *Sinéad Ní Mholtáin* (CT:16) employs line-type 7.2. The first two phrases are linked by *aicill* rhyme directly across the phrase-boundary; and *aicill* is used again to link *chuain* and *buidh* on either side of the caesura in the fourth foot. Because

the line contains an odd number of stresses a silent stress is required at the end of every line. Note that in the last line of the stanza the ornamental pattern changes and begins to resemble that of *ochtfhoclach*. This trend is developed in subsequent stanzas; but in my view the air is better suited to the pattern outlined above than it is to *ochtfhoclach*.



Ar hal-laí chois Fin-ne in im-eall a' chuain tá'n ain-nir thug
 buaidh ar áil-le An plannd' is gi-le thug bin-neas ón chuaich, is tá
 deallramh gan ghruaim sa stáid-mhnaoi. Tá a dhá dlaoi dheas - a gan
 chol ar a' domhan, 's a gruaidhe mar na ró-saí 'ngair-dín, A
 ma-laidh chaol donn mar scríó-faí le peann, 's gur de fhíorscoith na
 hóm - ra d'fhás sí.

This air is well-suited to its text for many of the same reasons as have been already cited, i.e. the use of 3/4 time echoes the triple rhythm of the verse; quantity relationships between syllables in the text are reinforced; and the *aicill* ornament linking the two halves of the line across the caesura is given both melodic and rhythmical prominence. In addition, the silent stress at the end of each line is appropriately acknowledged, this time by means of a sustained note rather than a rest. We shall shortly see that this problem is not always so satisfactorily solved.

Finally, an example of a song in which the rhythm is duple, not triple, is the 8.1 *ochtfhoclach* song *An Ghaunach* (Free.:184). The air to this song is perfect for this type of verse: the duple character of the rhythm is reinforced by the choice of a duple time-signature, 2/4; and the ornamental importance of the final stressed syllable in each of the first three phrases, and of the first stress in the final phrase, is underlined by the setting of these syllables to crotchets rather than quavers (two tied quavers being, of course, the equivalent of a crotchet):

Quick

Lá's mé nro-had Baun-dan, er ä-nach ceart na Sau-na, Is
mi-shi ví san aum son gan aung-gar ná gá, Do
cheanuís blue-ri ghau-nuig ó ear a-neas óng geaun-tar, 'S ní
wíe-reas riav er cheaun í, er cheaú-nuig ná'r vrayid.

Not all texts and airs are, however, as well matched as those we have just examined. What is more, some types of metre are--as we have earlier suggested--somewhat prone to distortion within the musical context. A problem which besets *rócán* and seven-stress *ochtfhoclach* line-types in particular is that of an air containing more accented notes than there are primary stresses in the line. By this we mean a musical setting which requires that one or more syllables, unstressed in the text, be raised to a position of prominence in the musical context. This occurs, of course, because both types of line contain silent stresses which need to be filled, either with a rest, which is silent, or with a note; and the necessity of maintaining forward movement in the melody usually dictates the latter choice. In the following setting of *éirigh 's cuir ort do chuid éadaigh* (CT:22) the phrase-cadence at the caesura is (with the exception of the second line) a disyllable, as was the case with *Lá 'gus mé a' taisteal am' aonar* above. Here, however, the second of these two syllables receives artificial prominence by being allowed to fall on the secondarily-accented beat in the 6/8 bar:

Ei-righ 's cuir ort do chuid éa - daighe A -gus cíorfaidh mé féin do

chúl, Go dtéi-mid a-raon chuig an chléir Nó go gcean-gal-tar

mé 'gus tú. Tá grádh 'gus cion agh-am féin ort, 'S a

chuid den tsaol, éa - loidh liom, 'S mur' bhfaghmuid cead pó-sadh in

Ei - rinn, Go ra - cha - muid le ché - l' a - nonn.

The case of *Sinéad Ní Mholtáin* cited above demonstrated that it is perfectly possible to set lines containing seven stresses without any artificial stressing being necessary. Nevertheless a great many settings of such verse do artificially stress the final syllable in the line, normally the unstressed member of a disyllable. Again, this would seem to reflect a preference for sound over silence in the musical medium. An illustration is provided by the song *Aige bruach Dhún-Réimhe* (ACU:46); affected syllables are underlined:

Aig[†] bruach Dhún Réimhe air uaig - neas lae, Ba shnuadhmar

géag - a bláth - gheal, Chual - as géim - neach cu - an -taí Eireann 'gus

fuaime 'sa spéir in áir - de, Na dúil - le 'bpéin 'sa

gúil le céile Is gnúis na gréi - ne báidh - te, Gus

plúr na n-éan, ag fu-ag-radh sgéil, Le cú-mhaidh gur éag na cá - ga.

As we suggested earlier, verse of the *croisantacht* type poses a peculiar problem. Because it is organised in two-stress rather than three-stress phrases there are no internal silent stresses, as is the case with *rócan*; and because the line contains an even number of stresses there is no need for a silent stress at the end of the line. There is thus no natural means available of stretching the line out over eight musical beats, as there is in the case of *rócan* verse. The solution appears to be--and this is true in all examples of *croisantacht* verse set to music that I have been able to find so far--to squeeze all six stresses into four bars in 3/4 time, placing two stresses in each of the first two bars, and the final two in each of the last two bars. This does not work out as badly as one might

think, because care is taken to ensure the prominence of those stresses falling at the ends of phrases, the stresses which attract the most important ornamentation. This is done either through making sure that such stresses fall on the strong beat in the bar (3/4 time has only strong and weak beats, it has no secondary accents) or, alternatively, by setting such syllables to longer note-values than those used for adjacent unstressed syllables. The fact remains, however, that the irregular distribution of stressed syllables in each line of the air has a slightly distorting effect upon the rhythm of the words. An example is provided by the following performance of *An Clár Bog Déil* (Free:195):

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a tempo marking of [♩ = 60]. It consists of four staves of music, each with a corresponding line of Irish Gaelic lyrics. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are as follows:

Goesh na Brí - di is gi - li bím - she go sú - gach sáv 'G aware
 shíos er ea-la vínig an úr - la wáin, Gur gi - li a
 píp ná shneachta 'r chruív 'sná drúcht er bán, 'S ní cui - gi -
 - ríoch mé, ach bua - chuil gruí mear a ghiú - cach cárt.

The case of *Connlach Ghlas an Fhonnhair* (DCCU:80 and *Ceolta Gael*, 41) is a particularly fascinating one, as the text employs two distinct line-types. Some lines--the majority, in fact--are of the 6.1 *rócán* type; but a few others contain an additional stressed

syllable after the caesura, making them appear to conform to pattern 7.1(o). The last two lines of the second stanza illustrate the difference:

Acht dá /ngluaiseadh /Rí na /Spáinne
 thar /sáile is a /chabhlach /cruinn',
 Cha /bhrúighfinn /féar ag /fás
 nó go /mbéinn ar /láimh le mo /chailín /donn.

The logical solution to the musical problem posed here would be to employ a tune suitable for *rócán* verse and simply suppress the extra stresses in those few lines in which they occur. The air which has been chosen, however, belies this logic, and accords far better with the 7.1 verse pattern than it does with the *rócán* lines. The result is that, in addition to provoking an artificial stress at the caesura--something one becomes accustomed to in the context of *rócán* verse--the tune requires a second artificial stress in the following phrase, so that words like *stóirín*, *ródheas*, *chuirníní* and--more acceptably--*bord luinge* receive two stresses rather than one:

Ar choin-lich ghlaís an fhó - mhair a stóir - ín gur dhearc mé uaim.

Ba deas do chois i mbró - ig Is ba ró - dheas do lea- gan siúil, do

ghrua ar dhath na ró-saí Is do chuir-ní-ní bhí fite dlúth. Mo - nuar gan sinn

áir bpó - sadh nó ar bord loing-e triall chun siúil.

Prof. ó Madagáin (1985:141) correctly points out that

...singing a song is a very different form of behaviour from reciting a poem. Singing places the activity in a distinctly different artistic mode. This fact is not altered even when it happens that a singer makes use of a tune other than that which the songmaker had in mind. This, of course, is a common occurrence in Irish, as proven by the fact that many a song has come down to us sung traditionally to various tunes; and is strongly suggested whenever a song is sung to a tune in which the music metre is different from the metre of the verse....

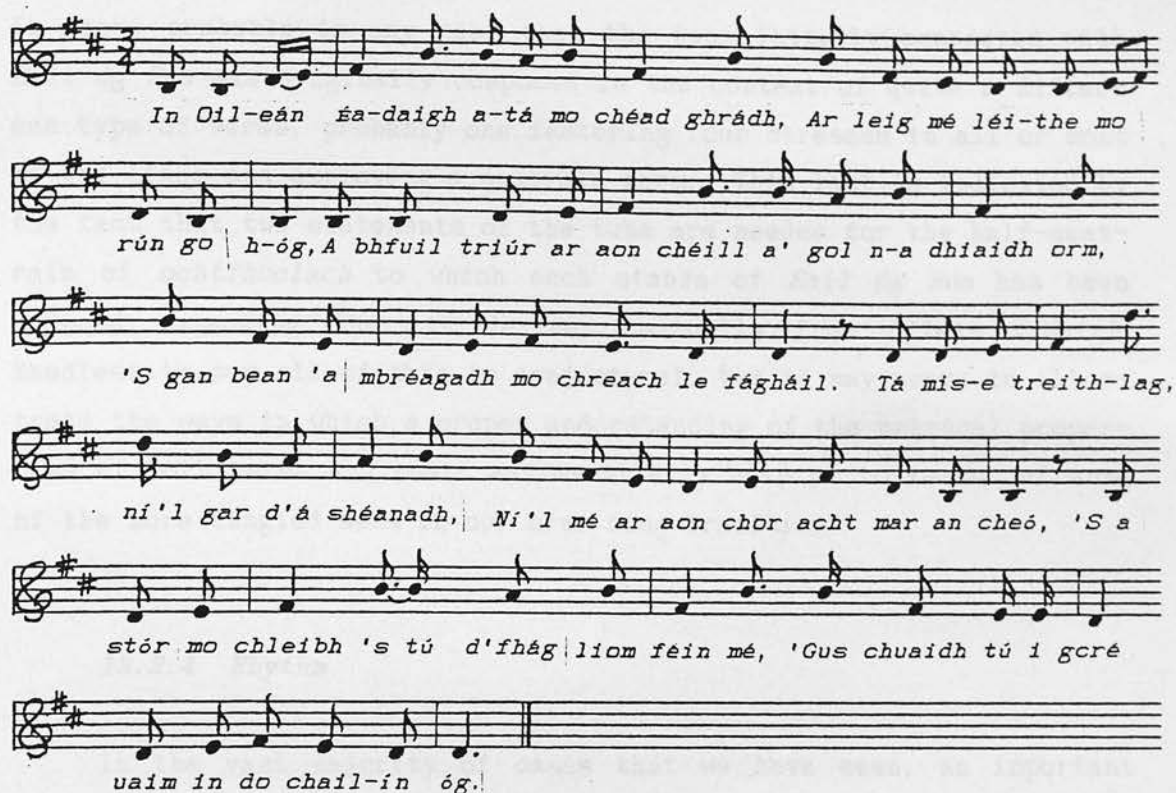
In a footnote he cites the example of Seosamh ó hÉanaí's performance of *Baile Uí Lí*, in which a half-line of four stresses is stretched to six in the context of the air, two syllables receiving artificial stress. It is difficult to say in these cases whether what we have is, as ó Madagáin suggests, simply a faulty choice of tune or whether, as seems possible particularly in the case of the so-called Connemara 'sean-nós', the proliferation of artificial stressing may instead be due to various factors affecting the singing style of the community. Comparison of recent recordings with ones made thirty or more years ago would seem to suggest that a number of changes have come about in the style over the intervening period. Among the most important of these is the fact that the tempo of performance has, on the whole, become much slower, allowing a greater range and density of melodic ornamentation to be employed by the singer. The slower a performance becomes, of course, the farther apart the strong beats in the tune are placed; and the farther apart they are placed, the more difficult it becomes--for the hearer or for the singer--to discern a rhythmical pulse in the music. This, in turn, makes it necessary to increase the number of rhythmical pulses in order to maintain the forward thrust of the tune and keep the whole performance from becoming bogged down. And, with the increase in the number of accented beats in the air, it becomes necessary to place artificial stress upon syllables in the text which would never receive such stress if the verse were being recited. Darach ó Catháin's performance of the song *Sail óg Rua* (Gael Linn CEF 010) provides an excellent illustration. The text is of the 8.1 *ochtfhoclach* type, and the second stanza we would normally analyse as follows:

/Níl mé ach /tréith-lag,
 Is níl /maith dhá /shéanadh,
 Agus /níl mé ar /aon nós
 Ach /mar an /ceo.
 Tá /fuil mo /chroí 'stigh
 Dhá /shilt na /mbraona
 Is a /Dhia cé'n /t-ionadh
 I ndiaidh mo /mhíle /stór.

In performance, however, the singer increases the number of stressed syllables to the point where there are at least three and sometimes as many as five to be heard in each phrase:

/Níl /mé ach /tréith-/lag,
 Is /níl /maith /dhá /shéan/adh
 /Agus /níl /mé ar /aon /nós
 /Ach /mar an /ceo.
 /Tá /fuil mo /chroí /'stigh
 /Dhá /shilt na /mbraon/a
 /Is a /Dhia /cé'n /t-ion/adh
 I /ndiaidh mo /mhíle /stór.

If, however, one compares ó Catháin's performance with the one recorded by Mrs Costello in Tuam in the early years of this century (AMS:30-1), it is clear that this particular air has long been a highly ornamented one, in which case we are probably wrong to attribute the distortion of the text to recent stylistic developments. There are, what is more, factors which suggest that this particular air may, indeed, not be the one originally intended for this song. It has been remarked by others before me that verses from *Sail óg Rua* are to be found in another song, *Oileán Éadaigh*, which is not much sung nowadays. In Mrs Costello's version of the latter (AMS:115) not only is the air far better suited to the verse, but the verse itself takes a more ordinary form, being composed in quatrains rather than in couplets:®



In Oil-eán éa-daigh a-tá mo chéad ghrádh, Ar leig mé léi-the mo
 rún go h-óg, A bhfuil triúr ar aon chéill a' gol n-a dhiaidh orm,
 'S gan bean 'a mbréagadh mo chreach le fágháil. Tá mis-e treith-lag,
 ní'l gar d'á shéanadh, Ní'l mé ar aon chor acht mar an cheó, 'S a
 stór mo chleibh 's tú d'fhág liom féin mé, 'Gus chuaidh tú i gcré
 uaim in do chail-in óg.

There are, in our sample, several texts employing the stanzaic structure 3A+B, in which the 'A' lines are of type 4.1, and the 'B' line is of the 3.2 type. The air presently associated with *Sail óg Rua* would, in fact, suit such a stanza-type well, as we can easily demonstrate using the text of Aogán ó Rathaille's poem *Do shiúlaigh mise an Mhumhain mhín* (OT:142):



Do shiúl - aigh mis' an Mhumh - ain mhín
 'S ó chúinn' an Doi-re go Dún na Rí
 Mo chumha níor bris-eadh cé'r shú - gach sinn
 go feiscint brugh Thaidhg an Dú-na.

13.2.4 Rhythm

Sliabh /Liag mór /álainn 'mbíonn /féar fada /'fás air
'S mil / buidhe 'gabhail le /fánaidh ar a' /Mhám mar
a' /driúcht,
A bhfuil /buaidh cnoic dá /bhréaghaicht' aig' go /fíor-
mhullaigh /Teamhrach,
Go /Néifinn Mhic /Amhlaoibh, go /hAondruim 's go
/Bóinn.
Bidh /pléisiúr ar /aontaighe ann, /coillte 'mbíonn
/aoibhneas ann,
/Caol-bhárca /sídhog tráth /théid siad faoi /sheol;
Bidh /cóistí na /bprionnsaí ar /bhóitre dá
/n-ionnsuidhe,
Bidh /mór-chuid den /im ann 's is /milis bainne/ bó.

It is the sort of text which we would normally expect to find associated with a tune in 3/4 time, bar after bar of crotchets rolling smoothly along. In this case, however, we find a tune in duple rhythm with a time-signature of 2/4:

Sliabh Liag mór á-lainn 'mbíonn féar fa-da 'fás air 'S mil bhuidhe
'gabháil le fá-naidh ar a' Mhám mar a' driúcht, A bhfuil buaidh
cnoic dá bhréaghaicht' aig' go fíor-mhul-laigh Teamh-rach, Go
Néi-finn Mhic Amh-laoigh, go hAon-druim 's go Bóinn. Bidh pléi-siúr ar
aon-taighe ann, coill-te 'mbíonn aoibh-neas ann, Caol-bhár-ca
sí-dheog tráth théid siad faoi sheol; Bidh cóis-tí na bprionn-saí
ar bhóith-re dá n-ionn-suidhe, Bidh mór-chuid den im ann 's is
mí-lis bain-ne bó.

In order to decide whether or not this tune is, in fact, a suitable companion for the text we must ask ourselves (1) whether any stressed syllables in the text have been artificially destressed, (2) whether any unstressed syllables have been artificially stressed, and (3) whether relative syllabic quantities in the text have been appropriately represented in the musical context. In the present case we appear to be able to answer 'no' to the first question. The second

question is a bit more problematical, as the use of duple rhythm implies the presence of secondary stress at the mid-point of the bar; thus we do find a number of syllables in this song receiving some stress, where in a 3/4 setting they would be unstressed. In some cases this stress has a totally artificial character, e.g. the second syllables of *álainn*, *Teamhrach*, *Néifinn*, *coillte* etc., or grammatical words like *ar*, *aig'*, and *siad*. In others, however, the secondary stress falls on stressable syllables of lexical items (*mór*, *fada*, *gabháil*, *cnoic*, *bainne*), on the second elements in compounds (*-mhul-laigh*, *-bhárca*, *-chuid*), or on unstressed syllables containing long vowels (*pléisiúr*, *sídheog*, *cóistí*, *bprionnsaí*, *ionnsuidhe*), all of which are able to sustain such secondary stress without too much artificiality. And in regard to the third question our response can be equally positive. It can even, in fact, be said that the present setting is preferable to one in 3/4, as it allows a longer note value to be assigned to those syllables falling under primary stress in the text, all of which without exception contain long vowels. In the 3/4 setting the length of such syllables would most likely be equal to that of other syllables in the bar, and the distinction between syllabic quantities would be suppressed. Thus in this case I think we can fairly judge that the tune is a suitable one for this particular text, even if one using a triple rhythm would have been equally acceptable.

The case of the song *Aililiú na Gauna* (Free.:251 and 252) is also a peculiar one. (Freeman gives two versions of the air, to either of which the following remarks are applicable. We shall, however, here be referring to the second of the two.) On the one hand, the rhythm of the verse is clearly meant to be triple:

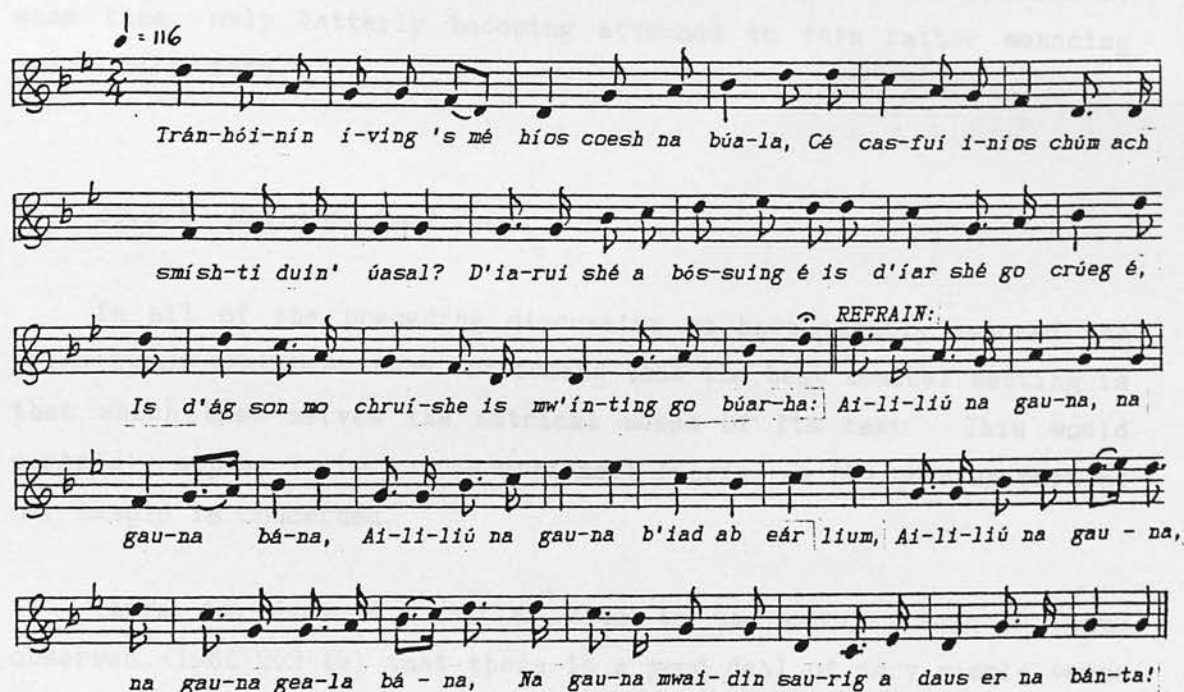
Trán/hóinín /iving 's mé /híos coesh na /búala,
 Cé /casfuí i/níos chúm ach /smísti duin' /úasal?
 /D'iarui shé a /bóssuing é is /d'iar shé go /crúeg é,
 Is /d'ág son mo /chruí-she is /mw'ínting go /búarha:

The refrain, on the other hand, is just as obviously duple in rhythm:

/Aililiú na /gauna, na /gauna /bána,
 /Aililiú na /gauna, /b'iad ab /eár lium,
 /Aililiú na /gauna, na /gauna geala /bána
 Na /gauna mwaidin /sauruig a /daus er na /bánta!

The tune, however, makes no rhythmical distinction between verse and refrain, but uses duple rhythm for both:

$\text{♩} = 116$



Trán-hóinín í-ving 's mé híos coesh na búla-la, Cé cas-fuí i-níos chúm ach
 smísh-ti duín' úasal? D'ia-rui shé a bós-suing é is d'iar shé go crúeg é,
 REFRAIN:
 Is d'ág son mo chruí-she is mw'in-ting go búar-ha: Ai-li-liú na gau-na, na
 gau-na bá-na, Ai-li-liú na gau-na b'iad ab eár lium, Ai-li-liú na gau-na,
 na gau-na gea-la bá-na, Na gau-na mwaí-din sau-rig a daus er na bánta!

Clearly, the refrain is better served by the air than is the verse, in which a number of syllables receive secondary stress which would be better left unstressed, and where the first syllable of *tránhóinín* receives a primary stress it would never achieve in speech. These

disadvantages are, it is true, somewhat balanced by the fact that the relative syllabic values of long primary-stressed syllables, of which there are a number, receive longer note-values in this particular musical context than they might in a typical 3/4 setting. Plainly, however, the tune was chosen to be of service to the refrain, not to the verse, and one might even hazard a guess that the light-hearted, repetitive refrain and its music might pre-date the other verses by some time, only latterly becoming attached to this rather menacing *pastourelle* text.³

13.2.5 *Music-derived verse*

In all of the preceding discussion we have tacitly assumed the priority of text over tune, stressing that the best musical setting is that which best serves the metrical needs of its text. This would certainly appear to be a true statement insofar as the greater part of our sample is concerned.

There is, however, another side to the coin. Seán ó Tuama observed (1960:202-49) that there is a good deal of very simple verse in Irish, often incorporating a refrain structure of some kind. He surmised that many such forms are descended from the Anglo-Norman *carole*, a species of love-song used to accompany a round-dance, which maintained its popularity in Ireland up to at least the year 1600 (*op. cit.* 209-13). Whatever about their origins, it is certainly true that in a certain number of songs, many of which possess refrains, the principal interest is musical rather than textual; and we may perhaps assume that such songs would originally have functioned within the context of some other activity, such as dancing.

Dancing comes first to mind for two reasons. In the first place, it is reckoned that most of the surviving anonymous song-poetry attested in Irish dates from the 17th-19th centuries, a period which happens to coincide with the well-recognised 'craze' for dancing which gripped Ireland up to the time of the Famine, and also with the importation and development of jig and reel forms into the country.¹⁰ Secondly, and more simply, we may cite the fact that many of the songs

which I would place in this category employ dance-tunes, or tunes to which it would be possible to dance.

Some songs actually refer explicitly to particular airs, as does one stanza of the song *Tá dhá ghabhairín bhuidhe agam* (CAS 4:10), which appears to refer to a well-known Scottish march-tune; and the air does, in fact, seem to be a variant of the Scottish one.



Tá dhá ghabhairín bhuidhe 'gam
 a's mínseach bhainne, mínseach bhainne,
 Brisean siad mo chroidhe 'nam
 á dtabhairt a bhaile, dtabhairt a bhail'
 Ní'l áit agam 'na gcrúdhfainn iad
 ach síos am hata, síos am hata,
 Leigean mo hata tríd é
 ar fúid a bhaile, fúid a bhaile.

(verse 3:)

Sin port ná fuil ag an bpíobaire
 Heelan Laddie, Heelan Laddie,
 Port ná fuil ag an bpíobaire
 Heelan Laddie, Heelan Laddie,
 Seán ó Ceala 'n píobaire
 'S biodh sé mar sin, biodh sé mar sin
 Seán ó Ceala 'n píobaire
 'S biodh sé mar sin, biodh sé mar sin.

If we were to try to analyse the metre of these stanzas in the absence of the tune we would have to confess that it resembles no other attested type: odd lines appear to contain three stresses, while even-numbered ones contain four; and while a feeble attempt at ornamentation is made in the first verse (*buidhe:croidhe*,

bainne:bhaile, hata:bhaile), by the third all such effort has ceased. The third stanza is, in fact, the most interesting. It's use of the phrase 'Heelan Laddie' may suggest that it was the first stanza composed to the air, and that the others--both of which have overtly to do with herding goats and sheep--may have been added later. The 'Heelan Laddie' stanza, too, is characterised by a great deal of repetition, which as we shall see is a feature of what we might call 'mnemonic' verse, verse possibly composed to call a particular air to mind, as is true in the case of the so-called 'pibroch songs' in Scottish Gaelic. If this were the case, the roughness of the metre would be of little importance, the verse not really being intended to have artistic merit in any case.

The metre is not, of course, as rough as it first appears, for in the context of the air all of the lines are seen to contain four stresses, even if some stressed syllables--like the secondary stress on the second syllable of the word *piobaire*--are highly artificial. The text here fulfils its function, which is that of providing a means of performing this particular air vocally; in short, it serves the tune, rather than the tune having to serve the text as is normally the case.

Repetition is also a characteristic of much of the verse which Ó Tuama believes was modeled upon the *carole* forms. Examples would include *Beidh aonach amárach i gContae an Chláir* (O'Sullivan 1960:28), and *Is trua gan peata an mhaoir agam* (ND 3:53 and O'Sullivan 1960:25):

Is trua gan peata an mhaoir agam,
 's trua gan peata an mhaoir agam,
 's trua gan peata an mhaoir agam
 's na caoirigh beaga bána;
is ó, goirim, goirim thú!
is grá mo chroí gan cheilg thú!
is ó, goirim, goirim thú!
is tú peata beag do mháthair.



Here again, the text would appear primarily to be a vehicle for carrying the tune: the number of syllables has been strictly regularised so as to correspond with the notes of the melody; and the fact that no adjustments in the melody are needed from stanza to stanza is itself enough to indicate the priority of tune over text in this case. O'Tuama and ó Sullivan are probably right to classify such songs as children's songs, although if O'Tuama's reasoning is correct such forms may once have been in general use among the adult population while round-dances retained their popularity.

The connexion between dancing and the song *Rinnce Philib a' Cheoil* (LD: no. 59) is both explicitly referred to in the text, and implied by the air which has something of the character of a slip-jig. Here, too, the text contains a good deal of repetition, particularly in the refrain:


Poirtín Sheáin a' phiopa 's Rinnce Philib a' cheóil,
Deinidh domhsa 'n rinnce 's seinnfead duit-se an ceól.

óró 'bhean nach deas í, óró bhean nach deas í
óró 'bhean nach deas í, Rinnce Philib a' cheóil!

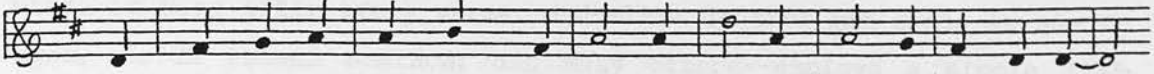
Here the lines would appear to be in *rócán* metre, two three-stress phrases in each. In this case, however, the influence of the tune appears to have led to the suppression of the mid-line and post-cadential silent stresses, reflected in the uninterrupted disyllabic movement carrying forward across what would have otherwise been the caesura, the same happening at the end of the first line of the refrain. Again, the words have little merit in and of themselves, and it may perhaps be assumed that their function was simply to provide a means of vocally performing the tune:



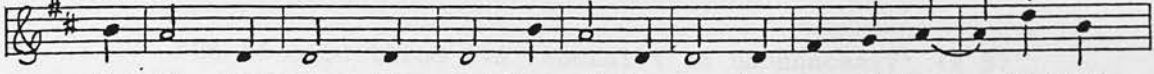
The same treatment has been given to another text, that of the song *Chan fheil agam acht scadán amháin* (ACU:50), the air of which also has the general character of a slip-jig, in spite of its 3/4 time-signature:



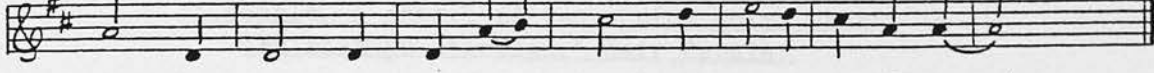
'n Fheil ag-am acht sca-dán a-mháin, Le h-aghaidh mo chas náir-e 'sheas-amh damh



O! thain-ic sean-ghad-uidhe 'n dá lámh A's rug sé uaim go brad-ach é.

REFRAIN:


One-and - two one - two - one; One-and -two one -two -wag-get-ty; O! one-



and - two, one - two - one, le h-aghaidh plé-reác-a rug-adh me.

Here, however, one can without too much difficulty imagine a setting in which the silent stresses implied at the caesura and at the end of the line were recognised, even though the above setting ignores them. The reason for this is that whoever composed the text saw to it that the rolling trisyllabic movement of the rhythm was interrupted at those points. The presence of the silent stresses makes it difficult to know whether or not this air was the one originally intended to accompany the text: on the one hand, the presence of textual breaks at the caesura and at the end of the line would seem to require a tune prepared to acknowledge those breaks, and this would presumably rule out a dance-tune which would find such interruptions inhibiting to its necessary forward movement; but on the other hand, the text of this song is a short, simple one with a nonsensical refrain, such as one would expect to find in the context of a dance-tune.

The most common type of jig occurring among Irish traditional musicians is the double jig, and examples of songs employing tunes of this type are well-attested. One of the best known such songs in our own time is perhaps the comic song from Connemara, *Cunnla*. It, too, is characterised by a great deal of repetition, includes a refrain which is sung after every verse, and--like *Is trua gan peata an mhaoir agam*, *Beidh aonach amárach*, and many others--employs a simple 3A+B stanzaic structure:

"Cé hé siúd thíos atá 'tochailt mo bhonnachai?" (x 3)
 "Mise mé féin," adeir Cunnla.

"'Chunnla, a chroí, ná teara níos goire dhom!" (x 3)
"Mh'anam go dtiocfad," deir Cunnla.

The air to which this is sung is a version of the well known double jig *The Frieze Britches*, each statement of the tune coinciding with one stanza plus the refrain. All that has been required to accommodate the double jig pattern is a simple updating of the old *carole* form 3A+B through the use of strong trisyllabic rhythm in most feet of the text. The silent stress at the end of the 'B' line recognises the break between the first and second strains of the tune, jigs normally having at least two strains.

While the text of *Cunnla* is characterised by a good deal of repetition, it at the same time appears to function as rather more than a mnemonic device for recalling the tune, in contrast to some other texts we have examined. The text is clearly intended to be the focus of attention in the sung performance, as it depends for its effectiveness upon a cumulative comic effect (the midnight intruder begins by knocking at the windows and gradually works his way up to removing the clothes from his ladyfriend's bed). The fact that a rather rollicking dance-tune is employed enhances the jovial character of the song as a whole.

Other songs set to jig melodies--or melodies which can at the very least be characterised as 'jig-like'--also reassert the importance of the text to the performance as a whole. A moment ago we compared the mnemonic function of the 'Heelan Laddie' type of verse--

Rinnce Philib a' Cheoil would furnish another example--to that of the pibroch song in the Scottish Gaelic context. Continuing the Scottish analogy, we may point out that there are other sorts of songs in Irish, employing dance tunes, which to some extent resemble *puirt-a-beul* or mouth music. Such songs are sung quickly--presumably up to the speed of the dance--and typically require considerable oral dexterity on the part of the singer. In *Mo Theaghlach* (ACF:58), while some use is made of vocable syllables in the refrain, these are not repeated in every stanza. The text does not, in fact, at all rely upon repetition, and due attention is paid to the ornamental requirements of the text. The air is that of a double-jig, and the editor notes that it should be sung 'go h-éadrom'.

Seinn h-adhraibh-ó, h-úraibh-ó, h-úgaibh ó, hí!
Siúd agaibh an obair d'fhág meidhreach m'im chroi!
Nuair seolaim mo chos' chun mo theighleach beag grinn
Ar chríochnú ar shaothar mo lae dhom.

Siúd thall thar an easach mar a bhfásann gach craobh
 An botháinín beag aoibhinn do gealadh le h-aol
 Siúd agaibh mo theaghlach, 's teaghlach mo ghaoilth'
 Mar a gcaithim mo shaoghal go sásta.



The song *Domhnall na Gréine* (ACF:130) furnishes a final illustration of this type. Again a double-jig tune is used; and it would clearly require considerable vocal agility to perform the song *allegretto vivo*, as the editor suggests. Here a refrain is dispensed with, both strains of the melody being accommodated within each stanza:



Comaoín a's frolic ó árdchuradh 'n bhaile seo
 'r Dhomhnall na Gréine mar chualasa 'thréithe
 Dá mbeadh ar feadh seachtaine 'g ól a dheoch leanna
 ní thiocfadh aon néal air, do b'annamh díth céill' air
 Do b'fhad' a léim reatha 's ba bhreá a bhuill' bhata
 in aimsir an éigin, do sciúrsálfadh céad fear;
 A shamhail de dhaire le Lughá Lámhfhada
 nó Alastram tréanmhar nó Harcules Gréagach.

On the one hand, the text has clearly been composed with this particular tune in mind. The lines contain eight stresses, but the linear pattern resembles no other attested in our sample; rather, the ornamentation of each half-line is clearly meant to echo the repeated melodic motifs in each pair of bars in the tune. At the same time, the text is obviously intended to be a focus of attention on its own merits, and not to function simply and solely as a mnemonic device for recalling the tune. No less impressive than the feats of strength and daring attributed to the eponymous hero of the song are the verbal inventiveness of the poet who composed the verse, and the oral virtuosity of the successful performer. This song, perhaps better

13 : NOTES

1. For discussion of the metre of the *Cúirt* see above, §11.1.1. In the context of his own remarks on that subject, to which we referred, Pádraig A. Breatnach further notes that the tradition to which the *Cúirt* and other compositions belong is 'in no instance ... a sung (*amhrán*) tradition' although the compositions in question 'may have been accommodated in a musical tradition separate from that associated with *amhrán*' (1982-3:10). He hints in a footnote that he possesses evidence for such a separate musical tradition, although he says that 'this [evidencel] is not for discussion here'. If there is indeed evidence of compositions such as *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* having received musical performance it would be worth a great deal that it should be brought to light.

2. B. ó Madagáin (1978) 'Ceol an chaointe', *Gnéithe den Chaointeoireacht*, 30-52.
 (1981) 'Irish vocal music of lament and syllabic verse', *The Celtic Consciousness* (ed. R. O'Driscoll), 311-32.
 (1985) 'Functions of Irish song in the nineteenth century', *Béaloides* 53, 130-216.
 P. A. Breatnach (1981) 'A musical connection between *dán* and *amhrán*', *Ceol* 4:iv, 102-9.
 (1984) 'Múnlaí véarsaíocht rithimiúil na nua-Ghaeilge', *Folia Gadelica* (ed. P. de Brún et al.), 54-71.
 T. P. McCaughey (1984) 'The performing of *dán*', *Ériu* 35, 39-57.

3. There are, of course, exceptions and qualifications to this statement; see below § 6.2.

4. Evidence for the musical character of the *gol* is problematical, owing to the fact that what examples of *gol*-music we possess are largely recorded without text. I base my assumption that the *gol* was probably more melismatic than the dirge on the evidence of Joyce's example (quoted in ó Madagáin 1981:318), and on the probability that, in the *gol*, the expression of emotion through the music would have been the primary object, the text consisting of a minimum of words or vocable syllables.

5. CM:25. See also *Mairne Thaidhg Mhá Chárthaigh* (CM:31) and *Caoineadh na Luasach* (CM:51), in each of which the paragraph length is four lines. Dr. Colm ó Baoill, in his recent edition of poems by Eachann Bacach and other Maclean poets, included the text of a lament for Sir Lachlann Maclean in which the stanza-length is variable, although the 'strophic' stanza is not a type known in Irish verse. He cites a tune for this poem, but confesses that he does not know how the words should be set to it (1979:14-25 and 282-3). William Matheson, in his review of this edition, suggests where bar-lines should fall in a performance of the first ten lines of the poem (although he does not explain why, according to his barring, the end of the first stanza does not coincide with what appears to be the end of the air), and notes that 'when the position of the bar-lines is identified, the task of setting syllables to related notes presents no great difficulty.' As for the variability of the stanza-length, he goes on: 'The [first stanza] has seven lines, but some other

stanzas are shorter, and it is a question of determining by ear which phrase or phrases in the music should be left out. There are also some eight-line stanzas, and here the only recourse is to think of a variation on the existing musical phrases that chimes with the rest' (1983:131). Mr Matheson is a fine Gaelic singer, and I would not presume to guess how his performance of this song might sound. As printed in ó Baoill's notes, the air would appear to be based upon a four-bar melodic formula which is divisible into two parts, the second of these having a very definite cadential character; in addition, there is an additional two-bar cadential phrase which is indicated as the end of the air (*fine*). Thus the air would, on the face of it, appear to possess very much the same attributes as those we have been discussing in the Irish context in connexion with stanzas of variable length, i.e. a simple two-part melodic element which can be repeated as often as necessary, and a cadential formula which can be used independently where a stanza may possess an odd number of lines or--as perhaps in this case--where the final line of a stanza contains one more foot than any preceding line in that stanza.

6. Prof. William Gillies (1986:110-13) has recently proposed a number of headings under which bardic poets might have organised their thoughts when confronted with the business of composing a praise-poem to a patron, headings which reflect the values of the society in which patron and poet operated; he suggests that such a code of practice, while perhaps not explicitly articulated, may in fact have formed the essence of a 'bardic poetical tract'. In a similar vein, Dr John MacInnes (1978) has provided a very useful summary of the themes used in Scottish Gaelic vernacular panegyric verse and their relation to the heroic value-systems of Gaelic society; it is a survey which is no less useful in the Irish context.
7. Dr Breatnach invokes an argument by Prof. J. Kurylowicz to dismiss Prof. Carney's analysis of archaic metres of which, the latter argues, modern Irish accentual metres are the direct descendents (Carney 1971:53; Breatnach 1983:65 and notes). Kurylowicz's argument is faulty, however, in its failure to recognise that in accentual verse syllables may be artificially raised to occupy positions of primary or secondary ictus even when such syllables would in no circumstances receive any sort of stress in ordinary speech. Verse and speech must be seen to obey different rules in this respect.
8. Colm ó Caoidheáin (1894-1972), the singer from Glinsc in Connemara whom Séamas Ennis counted as one of his most valuable informants, sang a version of *Sail óg Rua* the tune of which was rhythmically and structurally--if not melodically--similar to the one in Mrs Costello's collection (Disc No. 362 in the collection housed in the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin). His text, perhaps significantly, includes the stanza beginning 'In Oileán éadaigh atá mo chéad searc' given below. It would thus appear that the air used for *Sail óg Rua* by Darach ó Catháin, Seosamh (Sheáin Jack) Mac Donncha and other younger singers may not always have been the first choice of singers in the west, in spite of its latterly attaining a wide exposure through recordings and radio broadcasts.

9. Seán Ó Tuama (1960:205) has in fact made a similar suggestion with relation to the possible history of the *carole* in Ireland: 'Amhráin simplí grá an chailín is mó a bhí sa *charole* i dtosach, ní foláir; ach leis an athrú saoil a tháinig sa 12-13ú haois, ba mhinic *chanson* simplí ógfhir á dhéanamh de. Ina theannta sin, ón uair nach raibh aon ábhar socair liteartha ag baint leis, is minic *genres* eile .i. An *Pastourelle*, An *Chanson de la Malmariée*, etc., á gcur i riocht amhrán rince 'luinneogach' (nó, níos minicí, luinneog as *chanson à danser* á húsáid i ndeireadh véarsaí na n-amhrán).' *Aililiú na Gauna* is not among the examples he cites, but it would appear nevertheless to belong to the category he is describing.
10. See A. Feldman & E. O'Doherty (1979) *The Northern Fiddler*, 7-9; also B. Breathnach (1972-3) 'Tús an phoirt in éirinn', *Irish Folk Music Studies* 1, 37-43.

Appendix C: List of poets

A list giving the names and, where possible, the dates and countries of origin of poets whose authorship of items in the sample is known or attributed in the sources used. A further list showing sources for biographical data is attached at the end of this appendix.

Appendix D: Alphabetical list of items in sample

An alphabetical listing, by title, of all items in the sample, with a note of the source, rhythm, line type and stanza type of each item.

APPENDICES : CONTENTS

Appendix A : *Summary of line-types*

A summary of all line-types encountered in the sample with reference to other structural features (rhythm, stanzaic structure, presence or absence of refrain), authorship, and geographical distribution.

Appendix B : *Summary of supra-linear organisational forms*

A summary of all stanzaic and non-stanzaic organisational forms encountered in sample, with reference to authorship and geographical distribution.

Appendix C : *List of poets*

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the line are also indicated. Thus the listing for stanza 100 shows a stanza in which there are two long metrical units, each comprised of three half-lines and ending in the same end-rhyme; while 123 would indicate a quatrain, each line containing three half-lines and ending in the same end-rhyme. These regular stanzaic forms include the paragraph form (P); the stanza form (S); the rounded binary form (R); and other specialised complex forms (C).

Column 4: 'Refrain Present'

Only those examples in which a refrain is present are enumerated in this column.

Column 5: 'Author Known'

Only those examples which are of known or alleged authorship are enumerated. All others are presumed anonymous.

APPENDIX A : SUMMARY OF LINE-TYPES (*chart*)

Column 1, 'Line-Type'.

Line-type is indicated by a numeral showing the number of stresses per line and the number of syllables in the final foot ('cadence') of each line. Thus the numeral 3.3 indicates a three-stress line with a trisyllabic cadence. Numerals containing two or more digits to the right of the decimal point indicate that the verse in question contains a variable cadential foot; numerals (other than 12.1 and 15.1) containing two digits to the left of the decimal point indicate verse in which the line-length may vary--by no more than one stress--from line to line or from stanza to stanza, e.g. line-type 34.2, commonly associated with verse in so-called *caoineadh* metre. Classified as 'mixed' are examples containing two or more clearly distinguishable types of line in some sort of more-or-less complex stanzaic structure.

Column 2, 'Rhythm'.

Examples in duple rhythm are indicated by the numeral 2, those in triple rhythm by the numeral 3, and those which are truly ambiguous--whether by accident or by design--are indicated 2/3.

Column 3, 'Stanzaic Structure'.

Most Irish stanzaic structures are couplet or quatrain structures; rarely a couplet may be trebled to give a six-line structure, or a quatrain doubled to give eight lines. Phrase-groupings within the line are also indicated. Thus the heading 2x4 indicates a stanza in which there are two long metrical units, each comprised of four phrases and ending in the same end-rhyme; while 4x3 would indicate a quatrain, each line containing three phrases and ending in the same end-rhyme. Less regular stanzaic forms include the paragraph form (P); 3A+B form; the rounded binary AABA form; and other unclassified complex forms (C).

Column 4, 'Refrain Present'.

Only those examples in which a refrain is present are enumerated in this column.

Column 5, 'Author Known'.

Only those examples which are of known or alleged authorship are enumerated; all others are presumed anonymous.

Column 6, 'Provenance'.

Items are sorted by origin in Munster (M), Ulster (U), or Connacht (C); items found in two or more areas are enumerated under General (G).

Column 7, 'Total'.

The total number of occurrences of any line-type in the sample is given in this column.

APPENDIX A : SUMMARY OF LINE-TYPES

LINE-TYPE	RHYTHM			STANZA-TYPE										REFR.	AUTHOR			PROVENANCE				TOTAL	
	2	3	2/3	P	2x2	2x3	2x4	4x1	4x2	4x3	4x4	5x2	6x2		8x2	AABA	3A+B	C	KNOWN	M	U		C
2.1		2		2														1	1			2	
2.2		10		10														4	5	4	1	10	
2.3		6		6														2	4	2		6	
23.2		1		1														1	1			1	
3.1		6		5				1										3	3	3		6	
3.2		6	1	4				3										3	5	2		7	
3.3	1	4						5										3	1	3	1	5	
34.2		20		13				1	3									12	14	6		20	
4.1	42	84	2		2				119	2	2							35	50	34	39	5*	128
4.12	3	10	1	1					11		1							4	5	4	5	14	
4.13		7																2	2	4	1	7	
4.2	44	114	7	15	2				139	3	2	1						66	69	56	35	5	165
4.23		7							7									2	2	1	3	1	7
4.3	3	22			2				22		1							15	16	5	2	2	25
45.1	1	3	1						5									2		3		2	5
45.2		1		1														1	1				1
5.1	1	184							180		1							96	83	74	26	2	185
5.12		1							1									1		1			1
5.2		6							6									6	5	1			6
56.1		4							4									2		3	1		4
6.1 (rócán)	3	85			12				76									31	38	29	20	1	88
6.1 (cros.)		7	17							24								15	14	9	1		24
6.1 (mix)		1																1		1			1
6.2 (rócán)		3							3									2			3		3
6.2 (cros.)		3	3	3						3								4	3	3			6
6.3 (rócán)		11			9				2									3	7	4			11
6.3 (cros.)		1	1	1						1								1	2				2
67.1		4																	1		2	1	4
67.2		2							2										1				2
7.1	5	8		1	1	1				10								4	7	2	3	1	13
7.2	47	108	17	1	1		15		2	59	94							75	54	71	44	3	172
7.3	1	8								4	5							7	2	6	1		9
8.1	52	116	58	1			56				168							105	73	66	81	6	226
8.12		1					1													1			1
8.2		5	3				1				6							3	5		3		8
12.1	1	5					2				4							3	2		4		6
15.2		2					2											1	2				2
MIXED	19	70	7		1				1									44	59	10	24	3	96
TOTALS	223	938	118	65	30	1	77	10	586	102	277	3	3	5	55	20	45	560	537	410	300	32	1279

* Includes one item of unknown provenance.

APPENDIX B : SUPRA-LINEAR ORGANISATIONAL FORMS

Form/Stanza Type	Provenance (& Authorship Attributed) ¹								Total Examples	
	Munster		Ulster		Connacht		General			
Paragraph	36	(22)	26	(13)	2	(1)	1		65	(36)
Couplet forms;										
2 x 2 phrases	12	(3)	11	(1)	5		2 ²		30	(4)
2 x 3 phrases	1								1	
2 x 4 phrases	23	(6)	34	(10)	16	(5)	4		77	(21)
Quatrain forms;										
4 x 1 phrase	5	(2)	4	(2)	1				10	(4)
4 x 2 phrases	245	(115)	193	(79)	131	(35)	17	(3)	586	(232)
4 x 3 phrases	46	(20)	36	(21)	19	(9)	1		102	(50)
4 x 4 phrases	88	(35)	85	(53)	100	(55)	4		277	(143)
Five-line stanzas;										
5 x 2 phrases	3	(1)							3	(1)
Sextet;										
6 x 2 phrases			3	(2)					3	(2)
Octet;										
8 x 2 phrases	3	(3)	2	(2)					5	(5)
Complex stanza-forms;										
AABA	37	(14)	7	(3)	9	(5)	2		55	(22)
3A + B	8	(2)	6	(3)	5	(3)	1		20	(8)
Other	30	(21)	3	(3)	12	(8)			45	(32)
TOTALS	537	(244)	410	(192)	300	(121)	32	(3)	1279	(560)

¹ Numbers of items of known or attributed authorship are given in brackets next to the total number of items from each district.

² Includes one item of unknown provenance.

APPENDIX C : LIST OF POETS

Notes

Included in the following list are the names (including, where possible, dates and counties of origin) of poets whose authorship of poems included in the sample is known or attributed in the sources used. Every effort has been made to include as many as possible of the poets named in the sources; those omitted are those few about whom no information was given in the source concerned, and about whom nothing could be discovered from any other source. It is hoped that all poets of any importance have been included--as well as a substantial number who may be described as '*fili aon dáin*'.

In order to gather as much information as possible about the poets, use has been made not only of data given in sources used for the sample, but also that supplied in works not specifically involved in the sample. A list of the sources used in assembling this biographical information is included at the end of this appendix; each poet's entry in the list which follows bears a numerical reference, in brackets, to one or more of these sources.

Note that surnames beginning '*ó*', '*Mac*', '*de*', etc. are alphabetised according to the first letter in the main element of the surname. Similarly, surnames in which the main element has been prefixed with '*h*' or which have undergone lenition are alphabetised as if this had not occurred: thus '*de Bhailis*' appears next to '*Bairéad*', and '*ó hIfearnáin*' occurs next to '*Inglis*'.

List of Poets

Mac Ambrois, Seán.	Co. Antrim.	fl. 19th cent.[?]	(28)
Mhac Aodha, Seán.	Co. Mayo.	fl. 19th cent.[?]	(25)
Bairéad, Riocard.	Co. Mayo.	c. 1740-1819.	(4)

de Bhailis, Colm. Co. Galway. 1796-c. 1905.	(29)
Mac an Bháird, Brian. Co. Donegal. n.d.	(28)
Bheldon, Riobárd. Co. Cork. d. 1912.	(2;3)
Mac Bionaid, Art. Co. Armagh. 1793-1879.	(10)
Mac Brádaigh, Fiachra. Co. Cavan. c. 1700-1755.	(10)
Mac Brádaigh, Pilib. Co. Cavan. c. 1660-1720.	(10)
Breathnach, Peadar. Co. Donegal. c. 1825-c. 1870.	(28)
Breathnach, Nioclás. Co. Kilkenny. fl. 1750-1800.	(30)
Breathnach, Tomás. Co. Mayo. fl. early 20th cent.	(24)
ó Briain, Pádraig. Co. Meath. c. 1750-1827.	(10)
ó Briain, an tAth. Pól. Co. Meath. c. 1763-1820.	(27)
ó Briain, an tAth. Seán. Co. Cork. fl. 18th cent.	(13)
ó Brolcháin, Seán. Co. Derry. fl. c. 1740.	(28)
ó Brolcháin, an tAth. Tadhg. Co. Derry[?]. fl. c. 1700.	(28)
ó Bruadair, Dáibhidh. Co. Cork/Co. Limerick. c. 1625-1698.	(36)
a' Búrc, an tAth. Liam. Co. Mayo[?]. fl. c. 1832[?].	(25)
de Búrca, Tiobóid. Co. Tipperary. fl. 1750-1800.	(31)
ó Cadhain, Micheál. Co. Galway. fl. 1904-5.	(25)
ó Cadhain, Tomás. Co. Galway. fl. early 20th cent.[?]	(24)
ó Caiside, Tomás. Co. Roscommon. fl. early 18th cent.	(9)
ó Callanáin, Marcas. Co. Galway. 1789-1846.	(11)
ó Callanáin, Peatsaí. Co. Galway. 1791-1865.	(11)
Mac Cana, Niall. Co. Louth. fl. c. 1700.	(26;28)
Mac an Chaoilfhiacclaigh, Donnchadh. Co. Cork[?]. fl. c. 1640.	(32)
Mhic Charrthaidh, Diarmaid Mac Domhnaill Mhic Fíngín Chaoil. Co. Cork. n.d.	(13)
Mac Carrthaigh, Eoghan. Co. Cork. 1691-1756.	(20)
ó Cathail, Séamas. Co. Kilkenny. d. c. 1832.	(30)
ó Ceallacháin, Donnchadh. Co. Cork. fl. 19th cent.	(2)
ó Ceallaigh na Craoibhe, Daimlic óg. Co. Derry. n.d.	(28)
ó Cearbhalláin, Toirealach. Meath/N.Connacht. 1670-1738.	(10)
ó Cearnaigh, Nioclás. Co. Louth. 1802-1874.	(10)
ó Ceirín, Uileog. Co. Kerry. fl. early 19th cent.	(8)
Céitinn, Séathrún. Co. Tipperary. 1580-c. 1644.	(36)
ó Cléirigh, Brian Rábhach. Co. Cavan. fl. c. 1730.	(27;33;37)
ó Cléirigh, an tAth. Liam. Co. Meath. d. 1758.	(37)
ó Cléirigh, Tomás. Co. Cavan. fl. c. 1700.	(28)
ó Coileáin, Seán. Co. Cork. 1754-1816.	(1)

Mac Coisteala, Tomás Láidir. Co. Roscommon. fl. 17th cent.	(4)
Mac Coitir, Diarmaid. Co. Cork. fl. early 20th cent.[?]	(2)
Mac Coitir, Tomás. Co. Cork. n.d.	(14)
Ní Chonaill, Eibhlín Dhubh. Co. Kerry/Co. Cork. fl. 1770.	(36)
ó Conaill, Seán. Co. Kerry. fl. c. 1650.	(32)
ó Conaire, Uilliam. Co. Tipperary. fl. c. 1766.	(2)
ó Conchubhair, Pádraig. Co. Kerry. fl. 18th cent.	(6)
ó Conchubhair Chiarraí, Seán an Fhíona. Co. Kerry. d. 1652.	(4)
Mac Con Mara, Donnchadh Ruadh. Co. Clare. c. 1710-c. 1814.	(1)
Mhac Conmara, Domhnall Meirgeach. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1730-80.	(25)
Mhac Conmara, Seán. Co. Galway. c. 1787-1867.	(25)
Mac Craith, Aindrias. Co. Limerick. c. 1708-c. 1795.	(12)
Mac Consaidín, Séamas. Co. Clare. fl. end 18th cent.	(14)
Mac Cruitín, Aodh Buí. Co. Clare. c. 1670-1755.	(36)
Mac Cuarta, Séamas Dall. Co. Louth. c. 1647-1733.	(36)
ó Cuileáin, an tAth. Gearailt (Antaine), O.F.M. Co. Leitrim/ Co. Galway. fl. c. 1683-c. 1740.	(4)
ó Cuinneagáin, Seán. Co. Cork. fl. 1737.	(14)
Mac Cumhaigh, Art. Co. Armagh. 1738-73.	(10)
Cúndún, Dáibhí. Co. Cork[?]. fl. c. 1654-57.	(32)
Cúndún, Pádraig Phiarais. Co. Cork. 1777-1856.	(19;23)
Mac Dáibhidh, Conall. Co. Donegal. fl. early 19th cent.	(26;28)
Ní Dháibhidh, Nábla. Co. Donegal. fl. early 19th cent.	(26;28)
Denn, Pádraig. Co. Waterford. 1756-1828.	(21)
ó Díomasaigh, Conchubhair. Ulster[?]. fl. 18th cent.	(37)
ó Doirnin, Peadar. Co. Louth. c. 1700-69.	(10)
Mac Domhnaill, Ragnall Dall. Co. Donegal. fl. c. 1750.	(28;33)
Mac Dónaill, Aodh. Co. Meath. 1802-67.	(10;17)
ó Dónaill, Séamas. Co. Donegal. fl. c. 1820.	(10;17)
Mac Dónaill, Seán Clárach. Co. Cork. 1691-1754.	(36)
Mac Dónaill, Toirealach Rua. Co. Tyrone. fl. c. 1730.	(10)
Mac Donnchadh an Dúin, éamonn. Co. Cork[?]. fl. c. 1658.	(32)
ó Donnchadh an Ghleanna, Séafraidh. Co. Kerry. c. 1620-78.	(4)
ó Donnchadh, Tadhg ('Tórna'). Co. Cork. 20th cent.	(2)
ó Doraidhin, Séamas. Co. Donegal. c. 1780-c. 1850.	(28)
Mac Dhubhgaill, Féidhlim. Co. Galway. n.d.	(24)
ó Duinn, Seán. Co. Kilkenny. 1815-92.	(31)
ó héigeartaigh, Pádraig. Co. Kerry. 1871-1936.	(36)

ó Faircheallaigh, Feardorcha. Co. Cavan. fl. c. 1736.	(37)
Feiritéar, Piaras. Co. Kerry. c. 1600-53.	(36)
ó Fiachra, Séamas. Co. Derry. n.d.	(28)
Mhac Filibín, Tomás. Co. Mayo. fl. early 20th cent.[?]	(24)
ó Flanghaile, Tomás. Co. Galway. fl. 17th cent.	(29)
ó Flathartaigh, Brian. Co. Limerick. fl. 18th cent.[?]	(14)
Mac Gabhráin, Aodh. Co. Cavan. fl. c. 1730.	(10)
ó Gallchobhair, Cathaoir Bán. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1798.	(22)
ó Gallchobhair, Tuathal. Co. Donegal. fl. c. 1840-50.	(28)
ó Gealacháin, Peadar. Co. Meath. 1792-1860.	(17)
ó Gealbháin, Diarmaid. Co. Kerry. fl. early 20th cent.	(2)
Mac Gearailt, Muiris mac Dáibhí Dhuibh. Co. Kerry. fl. 16th/17th cent.	(4)
Mac Gearailt, Piaras. Co. Cork. c. 1705-92.	(12)
Mac Giolla Chiaráin, Uilliam. Co. Meath. c. 1700-66.	(10; 27; 37)
Mac Giolla Choilleadh, Séamas. Co. Armagh. c. 1758-1828.	(16)
Mac Giolla Fhiondáin, Pádraig. Co. Armagh. 1665-1733.	(10)
Mac Giolla Ghunna, Cathal Buí. Co. Fermanagh. c. 1680-1756.	(10)
Mac Giolla Phádraig, Brian. Co. Kilkenny. c. 1580-c. 1652.	(36)
ó Griobhtha, Muiris. Co. Limerick. fl. c. 1778.	(14)
Haicéad, Pádraigin. Co. Tipperary. c. 1600-54.	(36)
de Hórdha, Seán. Co. Clare. fl. c. 1780.	(14)
ó hIfearnáin, Liam Dall. Co. Tipperary. fl. 18th cent.	(14)
Inglis, An tAth. Uilliam. Co. Limerick. d. 1778.	(14; 15)
ó Laithearta, Micheál. Co. Tipperary. fl. early 19th cent.	(31)
ó Lanagáin, Séamas. Co. Tipperary. fl. late 18th/early 19th cent.	(31)
ó Laoghaire, Labhrás. Co. Kerry. fl. 19th cent.	(34)
Ní Laoghaire, Máire Bhui. Co. Cork. c. 1774-1847.	(1; 23)
ó Lighe, Seán. Co. Waterford. fl. early 20th cent.	(2)
Mac a Liondain, Pádraig: cf. <u>Mac Giolla Fhiondáin, Pádraig.</u>	
Lloyd, Seán. Co. Clare. d. c. 1757.	(1)
ó Longáin, Micheál óg. Co. Cork. 1766-1837.	(12)
ó Mhallaile, Aodh. Co. Monaghan. fl. c. 1798.	(28)
ó Maoilchiaráin, Uilliam: cf. <u>Mac Giolla Chiaráin, Uilliam</u>	
Ní Mhaolalaidh, Máire. Co. Kilkenny. fl. c. 1799.	(30)
ó Maolchonaire, Peadar. Co. Leitrim/Co. Fermanagh. fl. c. 1700.	(10)
ó Maolmhaodhóg, éamonn. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1799.	(22)

Nic Mhaongail, Sinéad. Co. Donegal. d. c. 1915.	(28)
ó Meachair, Liam. Co. Tipperary. fl. c. 18th cent.	(31)
ó Mealláin, Fear Dorcha. Co. Down[?]. fl. c. 1650.	(4)
Merriman, Brian. Co. Clare. c. 1749-1803.	(36)
ó Miléadha, Pádraig. Co. Waterford. n.d.	(38)
ó Míocháin, Tomás. Co. Clare[?]. fl. 18th cent.	(18)
ó Módhráin, Tomás. Co. Waterford. fl. c. 1820.	(15)
ó Mongáin, Dominic. Co. Tyrone. fl. 18th cent.	(4)
ó Muiríosa, Seán. Co. Waterford. fl. 1890.	(36)
ó Muirithe, Tomás. Co. Cork/Co. Tipperary. fl. c. 1796.	(31)
ó Muláin, Seán. Co. Cork. fl. c. 1802.	(2)
ó Munaoile, Aindriú Mór. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1828.	(22)
ó Murchadh, Dáibhidh. Co. Mayo. fl. 17th cent.	(5)
ó Murchaidh, Art Mór. Co. Louth. fl. 19th cent.	(17;28)
Mac Murchaidh, Niall óg. Co. Louth[?]. fl. c. 1750.	(28)
ó Neachtain, Seán. Co. Roscommon. c. 1650-1728.	(10)
Ní Néill, Maighréad. Co. Waterford. fl. c. 1900.	(38)
Mac Niallghuis, Eoghan [éamonn?]. Co. Donegal. n.d.	(28)
de Nóglá, éadbhard. Co. Cork. fl. 18th cent.	(14;18)
Mhac Osgair, Doimnic Beag. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1820.	(22;35)
Mhac Osgair, Séamas. Co. Mayo. fl. c. 1810.	(22;35)
Mac Piarais, Pádraig. Dublin. 1879-1916.	(1)
ó Prontaigh, Pádraig. Co. Fermanagh. c. 1700-60.	(10)
ó Rathaille, Aogán. Co. Kerry. c. 1675-1729.	(36)
ó Reachtabhra, Antoine. Co. Mayo. 1784-1835.	(36)
ó Riada, Pádraig. Co. Kilkeny. 1729-c. 1814.	(30)
ó Riain, Dónall Rua. Co. Kilkeny. fl. c. 1800.	(30)
ó Riordáin, Conchubhair. Co. Cork. fl. c. 1760.	(14)
ó Ruairc, Seafruidh. Co. Leitrim[?]. fl. 1702.	(37)
Mac Ruairí, an tAth. Cathal. Co. Down. fl. c. 1650.	(26)
ó Séaghdha, Diarmaid na Bolgaí. Co. Kerry. 1755-1846.	(34)
Mac Seáin, Cormac. Co. Donegal. n.d.	(28)
Seartan, Seoirse. Co. Cork. fl. 1900.	(3)
ó Séasta, Pádraig. Co. Waterford. fl. c. 1770.	(31)
Seoighe, Seán. Co. Galway. c. 1800-84.	(25)
ó Slatara, Liam. Co. Tipperary. fl. c. 1784.	(31)
Mhac Suibhne, Micheál. Co. Mayo/Co. Galway. c. 1760-1820.	(25)
ó Súilleabháin, Conchubhair. Co. Kerry. fl. c. 1754.	(13)

ó Súilleabháin, Diarmuid. Co. Kerry. 1680-1750.	(36)
ó Súilleabháin, Eoghan Rua. Co. Kerry. 1748-84.	(36)
ó Súilleabháin, Labhrás. Co. Kerry. fl. c. 1817.	(34)
ó Súilleabháin, Micheál. Co. Kerry. fl. early 19th cent.	(13)
ó Súilleabháin, Muircheartach. Co. Kerry. 1817-1905.	(34)
ó Súilleabháin, Tadhg Gaelach. Co. Limerick/Co. Waterford. 1715-95.	(36)
ó Súilleabháin, Tomás Rua. Co. Kerry. fl. 19th cent.	(23)
Taath, Risteárd. Co. Louth. d. 1736.	(37)
ó Teibhlin, Séamas: cf. <u>ó Toimhleáin, Séamas</u> .	
ó Tiarnaigh, Tadhg óg. Co. Clare. fl. c. 1850.	(7)
ó Tiarnaigh, Tomás. Co. Clare. fl. latter half 19th cent.	(7)
ó Tiománaidhe, Tadhg. Co. Donegal. c. 1680-c. 1750.	(26)
ó Toimhleáin, Séamas. Co. Meath. 1798-1873.	(26; 27)
ó Tuama, Seán. Co. Limerick. 1708-75.	(12)

Sources for biographical data

- (1) Breathnach, M. *Fíon na Filidheachta*.
- (2) Breathnach, P. *Ár gCeol Féinig*.
- (3) _____ *Ceol ár Sínséar*.
- (4) de Brún, P. et al. *Nua-Dhuanairé I*.
- (5) Hardiman, J. *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. 1.
- (6) _____ *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. 2.
- (7) Gunn, M. *A Chomharsain Éistigí agus Amhráin Eile as Co. an Chláir*.
- (8) Mac Coluim, F. ('Fingín na Leamhna'). *Amhráin na nGleann*.
- (9) Nic Philibín, M. *Na Caisidigh agus a gCuid Filidheachta*.
- (10) ó Buachalla, B. *Nua-Dhuanairé II*.
- (11) ó Ceallaigh, S. *Filíocht na gCallanán*.
- (12) ó Conaire, B. *Éigse: Duanairé Nua na hArdteistiméireachta*.
- (13) ó Conchúir, B. *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*.
- (14) O'Daly, J. *Poets and Poetry of Munster*.
- (15) _____ *Irish Language Miscellany*.
- (16) ó Duibhgin, S. *Séamas Mac Giolla Choille*.
- (17) ó Fiaich, T. 'The Ulster poetic tradition in the 19th century'. *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.

- (18) ó Fiannachta, P. *An Barántas.*
- (19) ó Foghludha, R. *Pádraig Phiarais Cúndún.*
- (20) _____ *Eoghan an Mhéirín Mac Carrthaigh.*
- (21) _____ *Duanta Diadha Phádraig Denn.*
- (22) ó Gallchobhair, M. 'Amhráin ó Iorrus'. *Béaloideas* 10.
- (23) ó Héalaí, P. 'Filíocht na Mumhan sa naou céad déag'.
Léachtaí Cholm Cille 3.
- (24) ó Máille, M. & T. *Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal.*
- (25) ó Máille, T. *Micheál Mhac Suibhne agus Filidh an tSléibhe.*
- (26) ó Muirgheasa, é. *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh.*
- (27) _____ *Amhráin na Midhe.*
- (28) _____ *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh.*
- (29) ó Muraile, N. 'Filí Chúige Connacht sa 19ú aois'. *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.
- (30) ó hógáin, D. *Duanaire Osraíoch.*
- (31) _____ *Duanaire Thiobraid Árann.*
- (32) O'Rahilly, C. *Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems.*
- (33) O'Reilly, E. *Irish Writers.*
- (34) ó Súilleabháin, S. *Diarmuid na Bolgaighe agus a Chombursan.*
- (35) ó Tiománaidhe, M. *Abhráin Ghaeilge an Iarrthair.*
- (36) ó Tuama, S. *An Duanaire 1600-1900.*
- (37) ó Tuathail, é. *Rainn agus Amhráin.*
- (38) Tóibín, N. *Duanaire Déiseach.*

Spelling and Alphabetisation

- (a) The following list gives the title of each song as it appears in the source from which it was taken. This includes those items from M. Freeman's collection of songs from Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, whose texts are transcribed using a slightly amplified version of the system of Simplified Spelling popularised by Mr Shan ó Cuív (*Irish Made Easy*, Dublin, 1907).

Because no attempt to regularise spelling has been made, the reader should beware of possible anomalies when searching for a particular title, for example *bá*, *báthadh*, *báitheadh*; *bainis*, *banais*; *dúiche*, *dúithche*; *inghéan*, *inghíon*, *iníon*; *muintir*, *muinntear*; *tuireadh*, *tuireamh*; etc.

- (b) Titles beginning with a vocative are largely listed under the vocative particle. Note, however, that in some cases the vocative particle is missing from the title; in such instances the reader should refer to the name being addressed, e.g. *Nansaidh, a Théagair*.
- (c) In a few cases the title as given in the source begins with a word, or part of a word, having been omitted, e.g. *gCluin tú mise 'Éin Bhig?*, *A mBeinn Phéin in Áirdí Chuain*. In such cases the missing word or letter has been supplied in square brackets to facilitate alphabetisation.

Abbreviations and Symbols

- (a) *Appearing at end of title*

(CL) indicates that the verse in question is a *ceangal* or *envoi* to the poem whose title is given.

(A), (B), (C) indicate two or more verses of the same poem, included separately in the sample because they embody different metrical features.

(1), (2), (3) indicate two or more different poems which happen to go by the same title in the sources consulted.

- (b) *Rhythm, line-type, stanza-type*. Please see introductory notes to Appendix A for explanation of the formulae used.

- (c) *Refrains*. The presence of a refrain is indicated by +R at the end of the stanza-type notation. Refrains are of four types, indicated thus:

+R(1) A single word or line repeated after each stanza.

- +R(2) A complete stanza, constructed on the same metrical pattern as that of the verses.
- +R(3) A complete stanza, constructed on a metrical pattern different from that of the verses.
- +R(4) Words, phrases or lines within the verse which remain the same from stanza to stanza.

Sources for Sample

NOTE: Although many of the collections in the following list assign consecutive numbers to the individual items they contain, references in our alphabetical listing are to page numbers rather than item numbers, except where otherwise indicated.

- A.C.F. An tAth. P. Breathnach, *Ar gCeol Féinig*. Dublin, 1920.
- A.C.G. M. and T. ó Máille, *Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal*. Dublin, 1905.
- A.C.U. L. ó Muireadhach, *Amhráin Chúige Uladh*. Revised edn. C. ó Baoill, Dublin, 1977.
- A.G. Fionán Mac Coluim ('Fingín na Leamhna'), *Amhráin na nGleann*. Dublin, 1939.
- A.G.C.C. D. de hÍde, *Abhráin Ghráda Chúige Chonnacht*. Dublin, 1930.
- A.G.I. M. ó Tiománaidhe, *Abhráin Ghaeilge an Iarrthair*. Dublin, 1906.
- A.M.B. T. ó Fiaich and L. ó Caithnia, *Art Mac Bionaid: Dánta*. Dublin, 1979.
- A.M.C. T. ó Fiaich, *Art Mac Cumhaigh: Dánta*. Dublin, 1973.
- A.M.S. E. Costello, *Amhráin Mhuighe Sheóla*. London & Dublin, 1919.
- A.P.D. D. ó Laoghaire, *Ar bPaidreacha Dúchais*. Dublin, 1982.
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TITLE	SOURCE	RHYTHM	LINE-TYPE	STANZA
A Ainnirín Chumhthra Mhacánta Mhúinte	CO;106	3	8,1	2x4
A Bhean Lán de Stuaime (CL)	ND 1;16	3	5,1	4x2
A Bhean Ud Thall	DG;12	2	4,2	4x2+R(4)
"A Bhean Ud Thall, a Thíogadh"	ACU;81	3	34,2	4x2+R(4)
A Bhéith na Lúib	DOB;66	3	7,3	4x4
A Bhéith na Lúib (CL)	DOB;70	3	5,1	4x2
A Bhídeach na gCarad	CO;38	3	5,1	4x2
A Bhríd, a Stór	DTA;29	2	4,2	4x2
A Bhrighid na gCos Caol	DCCU;100	2	4,3	4x2
A Bhuachail an Chúil Dualaigh	ACF;178	3	4,1	4x2
A Chailín Bhig Óig	CCU;63	3	7,2	4x4
A Chailín Bhig Uasail	CO;109	3	4,1	4x2
A Chaomhnaí an tSolais	PML;47	3	5,1	4x2
A Chara mo Chléibh	OT;182	3	5,1	4x2
A Charaid Dílis	DCCU;196	2/3	8,1	4x4
A Cheaití a' Chúil Chlannaigh	CO;113	3	4,2	4x2
A Chlann a Chuaidh go hOileáns	MMS;48	3	5,1	4x2
A Chomhairleacháí	CO;49	2	4,1	4x2
A Chomharsain Éistigí	Gunn;1	2	8,1	4x4
A chóirsuin a chruí shtig	Free;162	3	8,1	4x4
A Chreagáin Vaibhrigh (A)	DCCU;28	2/3	6,2	P
A Chreagáin Vaibhrigh (B)	DCCU;31	3	5,1	8x2
A Chuaine Chaomhsa (A)	ND 1;19 (v,1)	3	5,1	4x2
A Chuaine Chaomhsa (B)	ND 1;19 (v,2)	3	4,2	4x2
A Chuisle mo Chroidhe	ACF;69	3	4,1/2,1	AABA+R(1)
A Chúil Donn Deas na nGruanna Bána	Gunn;3	2/3	8,1	4x4
A Chumainn tar Céad	EDS;105	3	7,2	4x4
A Chuman 'sa Stór	CAS 3;4	3	7,2	4x4
A Dhia na mBuadh	PF;122	3	5,1	4x2
A Fádrúig, a Stóruig	Free;115	3	7,2	4x3
A Fhile Chirt Ghéir	EDS;85	3	4,2	4x2
A Fhir Chalma	DCCU;344	2	4,1	4x2
A Fhir Éadmhair 'gá mBí Bean (CL)	OT;12	3	4,2	4x2
A Ghailien Thairis	AMC;100	3	5,1	4x2
A Ghallery Bhradaigh na Stuaice	Gunn;7	3	6,1	2x2
A Ghaoidhilge mhilis (CL)	R agus A;26	2/3	8,1	4x4
A Ghiarmuid na nae 'shtig	Free;237	2/3	8,1	4x4
A Ghobnait an Dúchais	APD;no. 537	3	2,2	P
A Ghochtúir Dlísh	Free;273	2	8,1/4,2	AABA+R(4)
A Ghrádh is a Ghrádh	DCCU;99	3	4,2	4x2
A h-Uiscidhe Chroidhe na n-Anaman	IPS;100	2	4,2	4x2
A Iníon Thais na mBánchíoch	PML;46	3	6,1	4x2
A Íosa Bheannaithe (1)	APD;no. 397	3	2,3	P
A Íosa Bheannaithe (2)	APD;no. 15	3	5,1	4x2
A Íosa a Mhic Mhuire	APD;no. 9	3	4,2	4x2
A Mháire Mhilis Bhreágh	ACF;84	2	7,2	4x4
A Mháire is a Mhuirín	ND 3;48	3	4,2	4x2
A Mháire na gCarad	ACF;62	3	4,1/3,2 (3A+B)+R(3)	
A Mháire, A Chuisle	Cais;58	3	8,1	4x4
A Mháire, Is Mór a' Náire dhuit	DCCU;87	2	4,1	4x2
A Mháire, a Shiúr	AGI;37	3	8,1	4x4
A Mhaitias Mhóir	CO;137	3	8,1	4x4
A Mhic do Chuaigh sa Chrann	APD;no. 272	3	3,1	4x1
A Mhíchíle Do-Chí Sinn	OT;170	3	4,2	4x2
A Mhúirín Bán	ACF;164	2/3	8,1	4x4

A Nansaí, 'Mhíle Grádh	CT:51	2	7,2	4x4
A Úgánaigh Ghreannmhair	AMB:43	3	5,1	4x2
A Úgánaigh Úig (1)	ACU:58	2/3	8,1	4x4
A Úgánaigh Úig (2)	DT:304	3	5,1	4x2
A Úgánaigh Uasail	AMS:6	3	4,1	4x2
A Úgánaigh an Chúil Cheangailte	AGCC:40	2	4,2	4x2
A Úigbhean Áluinn	DCCU:77	2/3	8,1	2x4
A Phádraig Chaoimh	DCCU:358	3	8,1	2x4
A Phádraig Chaoimh (CL)	DCCU:358	3	5,1	4x2
A Phlanda ChnÚ	R agus A:70	3	5,1	4x2
A Phlúir na mBan Óg	DCCU:51	3	7,2	4x4
A Phlúir na gCuach	ACF:168	3	7,2	4x3
A Rí lér Fuasclaíodh	PML:6	2/3	7,2	4x4
A Rí na nGrása	R agus A:52	2/3	7,2	4x4
A Ridire na Circe 's a' Ghandail Gé	PF:123	2	4,1	4x2
A Sheáin a Mhic mo Chomharsan	FC:36	2	8,1	4x4
A Sheámuis, a Chroidhe	AG:13	3	8,1	2x4
A Shiobhan a Ruin	IPS:124	3	5,1	4x2
A Thailtin na mbrat	R agus A:39	3	7,2	4x4
A Thiarna, Gráim Thú	APD:no, 78	3	2,2	P
A Thomáis, a Mhíle Stóirín	AMS:64	3	5,1	4x2
Abhar Deargtha,...	ND 1:12	3	5,1	4x2
Abhrán a' Rucart Mhoir	CCU:43	2	4,2	P
Abhrán Grádha	CCU:50	2/3	8,1	4x4
Abhrán Pheadair Bhreathnaigh	CCU:65	3	6,1	4x2
Achmhusán Dhochtúir Cheallacháin	DCCU:252	3	7,3	4x4
Adeir Clann Liútair	AMC:88	2/3	8,1	4x4
Admhaím féin don saol gur pheacaíos	Gunn:5	3	7,2	4x3
Adoramus Te, Christe	DT:110	3	7,2	4x4
Ag an mBoithrín Buidhe	ACF:180	3	7,2	4x4
Ag Bun na gCúig gCrann	DCCU:111	3	8,1	4x4
Ag Déanamh Bóthair	MMS:28	3	7,2	4x4
Ag gabháil go Baile Átha Cliath damh	DCCU:372	3	4,2	4x2
Ag Taisteal na Sléibhte dham	EOS:65	3	8,1	4x4
Ag so Barántas Scríofa	Bar.:37	3	7,2	4x4
Agallamh an bhaire agus na Teamhrach	CCU:6	2/3	6,1	4x3
Agallamh idir Beirt Fhile	DTA:38	3	6,1	4x2
Agallamh le Caisleán na Glasdromainne	AMC:82	3	5,1	4x2
Agallamh Reachtabhra agus an Bháis	Raf.:226	3	4,2	P
Aifí Mhac Ghiobúin	MMS:61	2	8,1	4x4
Aighneas Sheáin agus Rialtas,...	Gunn:9	3	4,23	4x2
Aighneas an Pheacuig leis an m-Bas	ILM:1	3	4,2	4x2
Ailí Ní Chearbhaill	ND 2:15	3	7,3	4x4
Aililiú na Gamhna!	ND 3:60	2/3	4,2	4x2+R(3)
Ain Mhéiní	MMS:84	3	8,1	4x4
Aingir gheas chrúiti na mó	Free.:176	3	6,1	4x2
Air Bharr na g-Cnoc 's an Ime g-Céin	IPS:54	3	4,1	4x2+R(2)
Air Bhas Sheaghain Uí Choileáin	ILM:50	3	4,2	4x2
Air Mhullaigh Dhrom-Bhídh	ACU:78	3	4,2	P
'Airnéis tSagsanach	PH:15	3	4,3	4x2
Aishling Geal	Free.:224	2/3	8,1	4x4
Aisling an Athar Padraic Uí Bhriain	PPM:260	3	4,1/2,2	AABA
Aisling an oig-fhir	IM 1:304	3	8,1	4x4
Aisling Aoidh Mhic Dhómhnaill	DCCU:226	3	3,1/2,2	AABA
Aisling Chonchubhair Uí Riordain	PPM:118	3	6,1/3,3	AABA
Aisling Chonnchubhair Uí Shuillliobhain	PPM:254	3	4,1/2,2	AABA
Aisling do Chonnairc Mé 'Réir	DCCU:232	3	6,1	4x2

Aisling Eadbhaird do Noglaich	PPM;244	3	7,2	2x4
Aisling Fhiachra Mhic Bhrádaigh	ND 2;27	3	5,1	4x2
Aisling Pheadair Uí Bhraonáin	DCCU;229	3	4,2	P
Aisling san Oidhche	DCCU;235	2	8,1	4x4
Aisling Sheagain Mhic Dhomhnaill	IPS;126	3	8,2	4x4
Aisling Shéamuis Uí Dhoraídhin	DCCU;330	2	8,1	4x4
Aiste Dháibhí Cúndún	DR;35	3	34,2	P
Aithrighe Sheaghain de Hordha	ILM;32	3	7,3	4x4
Aithrighe an Reachtabhraigh	Raf.;163	3	8,1	4x4
Amhrán an Anró	MMS;80	2	4,1	4x2
Amhrán an Bháis (1)	DCCU;312	3	5,1	4x2
Amhrán an Bhromaigh	DTA;60	3	8,1	4x4
Amhrán an Ghearráinín	Gunn;10	2	7,2	4x4
Amhrán an Phúca	MMS;20	3	8,1	4x4
Amhrán an Tae	Gunn;15	3	6,1	4x2
Amhrán an Téi	AMS;45	3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
Amhrán an Tlú	ACG;55	2/3	8,1	4x4
Amhrán an Trumpa	DCCU;319	3	6,1	4x2
Amhrán an tSaidhbhris	DCCU;311	2/3	45,1	4x2
Amhrán Bréagach	CO;85	3	4,23	4x2+R(1)
Amhrán Carabhataí	DTA;64	3	5,1	4x2
Amhrán do Sheán Óg Builtéar	DO;49	3	6,1	2x2
Amhrán Mhaicín	Gunn;19	3	8,1	2x4
Amhrán Mhálainn	DCCU;178	2	7,2	4x4
Amhrán Mhuighinse	ND 3;23	2	4,1	4x2
Amhrán na Bradaíle	ND 1;44	3	3,3	4x1
Amhrán na Mine	AMS;23	3	6,1	2x2
Amhrán na Trá Báine	ND 3;16	2	4,1	4x2
Amhrán na dTincléirí	DCCU;267	3	7,2	4x3
Amhrán na n-Éireannach	MMS;82	2	7,2	4x4
Amhrán Thomáis Bhaile Mhichíl	Gunn;22	3	6,1	2x2
An Abhainn Dubh	R agus A;66	3	7,2	4x4
An Abhainn Laoi	PPM;266	3	6,1	4x2
An Abhainn Mhór	ND 3;29	3	5,1	4x2
An Aindir Aluin	IPS;144	3	3,1/2,1	2(AABA)
An Aisling	OT;152	3	5,1	4x2
An Áit d'ar Ghabhas	ACF;72	3	4,12	4x2
An Amaid Shúgach	PDD;38	3	7,2	4x4
An Bacach	DCCU;291	3	4,1	4x2
An Báire	Gunn;27	3	8,1	4x4
An Banbh	ACF;52	3	4,3	4x2+R(1)
An Bás	R agus A;47	3	7,2	4x3
An Bás agus Seán an Chomhrádha	Iorr.;220	2	4,2	4x2+R(1)
An Bás agus an Cláiríneach	CCU;13	3	7,3	4x3
An Bata	DD;83	3	8,1/4,3	AABA
An Bata Draighin Éille	DTA;42	3	5,1	4x2
An Bata Druín	Free.;122	3	5,1	4x2
An Bhain-treabhach 's an Mhaighdion	PPM;142	3	4,2	4x2
An Bhean Chaointe	ACU;31	3	4,12	4x2
An Bheann Fhada	DCCU;434	3	56,1	4x2
An Bheinsín Luachra	ACG;98	3	6,1	4x2
An Bheirt Phótaire	DCCU;289	3	8,1	4x4
An Bheith	PPM;72	3	5,1	4x2
An Bhíath-Bhruinnioll	PPM;82	3	6,1	4x2
An Bhráithrín Buadhartha	Cais.;60	3	8,1	4x4
An Bhrighdeach	AGCC;78	3	8,1	2x4

An Bhruinneall Mheirbh	IPS:82	2	8,1	2x4
An Bhruinnillín Phéacach	ACG:12	3	5,1	4x2
An Bhuaitis	ACF:146	3	8,1	4x4
An Bráithrín Dlíis	DD:57	3	4,2	P
An Brannnda	PPM:234	2	6,1	4x3
An Brannnda (CL)	PPM:236	3	5,1	4x2
An Brianach Óg	Free,:222	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Buachail Caol Dubh	ACF:190	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Buachaill Bán	FF:38	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Bunán Buidhe	ACU:74	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Cailín Beag Óg	CCU:95	3	4,1	4x2
An Cailín Deas	CD:61	2	4,1	4x2
An Cailín Deas Óg	AMS:86	3	8,1	4x4
An Cailín Deas Ruadh	AG:44	3	5,1	4x2
An Cailín Down	Free,:213	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Cailín Down Deas	Free,:267	3	4,1	4x2+R(4)
An Cailín Rua (1)	ACU:41	2	8,1	2x4
An Cailín Ruadh (2)	DCCU:79	2	8,1	2x4
An Cailín ó Chonndae Lughmhaigh	CCU:99	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Caisdeach Bán	Cais,:53	3	8,1	4x4
An Caisleán Cam	CB:63	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Caitín Bán	AMS:87	2	7,2	4x3
An Caol Each Dubh	ACF:202	3	6,1	4x3
An Capaillín Bán	CAS 3:22	3	5,1	4x2
An Cat Fireann Bán	DD:65	3	4,1	4x2
An Céachta	ACF:142	3	8,1	4x4
An Ceirbheach	MMS:39	2	7,2	4x4
An Chailleach	ACG:125	3	7,2	4x3
An Chaoin-Róis	ACG:3	2/3	6,1	4x3
An Chaora Ghlas	ACG:117	2	7,2	4x4
An Chéad Lá Samhraidh...	DD:62	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Cholera Morbus	Raf,:158	3	4,2	4x2
An Chraobh chumhra (CL)	R agus A:69	3	6,1	4x3
An Chreach	DCCU:444	2/3	7,2	4x4
An Chríonach	ACG:115	3	6,1	4x2
An Chrúbach i dToraigh	CT:71	3	6,1	4x2
An Chúil Day Ré	Free,:146	3	4,1	4x2
An Chúilfhionn	AGCC:70	3	4,2	4x2
An Chúis dá Pléidh	Raf,:240	3	8,1/4,3	AABA
An Ciarraíoch Mallaithe	ND 3:55	3	4,3/4,1	AABA+R(4)
An Cíos Catoilceach	Raf,:58	3	4,3/7,2	ABA
An Clár Bog Déil	Free,:194	2/3	6,1	4x3
An Cléireach Bán	ND 2:31	3	6,2	P
An Cnuicín Fruích	Free,:261	2	8,1	4x4
An Conach	AMC:99	3	5,1	4x2
An Corrán	DD:45	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
An Craoibhín Aoibhinn	LD:no. 3	3	8,1	4x4
An Crimíneach Caum	Free,:267	3	4,1	4x2
An Crúiscín Lán	ACF:204	2	7,1	2x3+R(1)
An Crúiscín	Free,:269	2	4,1	4x2+R(1)
An Curaichín Cois na Brighde	ACF:55	2	8,1	4x4
An Dá Sheán (CL)	POD:33	2/3	6,1	4x3
An Dán Breac	SMC:59(v,2,4)	3	5,1	4x2
An Dearnaid	ND 2:24	3	5,1	4x2
An Déigh-Bhean	DCCU:113	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Deirdre Dhea-Ghnúiseach	ND 1:43	3	4,2	4x2
An Deirdre Dhea-Ghnúiseach (CL)	ND 1:44	2/3	6,1	4x3

An Dia darbh Ainm Iúpter	Raf.;65	2	8,1	4x4
An Diarmaid Cas Mac Airt do dh'Éileamh	Bar.;47	3	4,2	4x2
An Diarmaid Cas Mac Airt,,, (CL)	Bar.;49	3	5,1	4x2
An Díbirt go Connachta (CL)	DT;108	3	4,3	4x2
An Dibirteach ó Éirinn	LD;no, 15	3	8,1/4,2	AABA
An Dilleachtaidhe Fáin	AG;48	2	4,2	4x2
An Draighneán Donn	ACG;127	2/3	4,1	4x2
An Dredilín (A)	CAS 3;6(1-4,8)	3	4,1/4,2	4x2
An Dredilín (B)	CAS 3;7(5,6,7)	3	4,1/2,2	2A+(3B+C)
An Dredilín (C)	CAS 3;7(7,9)	3	3,1/4,2	AABA
An Druimfhionn Dubh	ACG;156	3	4,12	4x2
An Dubh Dflis	ACU;96	3	6,1	4x2
An Duine Sodhantach	DCCU;103	2/3	8,1	2x4
An Fáinne	AG;40	3	5,1	4x2
An Fear Ceoil	ACG;38	3	8,1	4x4
An Fheamainn	MMS;104	2	4,3/4,1	3A+B
An Fia Mór Fáin	Gunn;32	3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
An Figeaddóir	Raf.;108	3	7,2	4x4
An Freagrach air an m-beith	PPM;74	3	5,1	4x2
An Gabha Ceárdchann	AMS;137	2	6,1	4x2
An Gaedheal imeasg na nGall	DCCU;345	3	4,12	4x2
An Gamhain	MMS;88	2	7,2	4x3
An Gandal	ACF;32	3	7,2	4x4
An Gauin Geal Bán	Free.;246	3	6,1	4x2
[An] gCluin tú mise 'Éin Bhig?	DCCU;84	3	6,1	4x2
An Ghaunach	Free.;184	2	8,1	2x4
An Ghealach Didhche Fhomhair	DCCU;132	3	7,2	4x3
An Ghiobóg	CCU;106	2	4,2	4x2
An Ghorta (1846)	DCCU;369	3	5,1	4x2
An Gréasaidhe	Raf.;171	3	7,2	4x4
An Guirtín Úrnan	Free.;191	3	67,1	4x2
An Lás	FC;49	2	4,2	4x2
An Líonán	MMS;105	3	5,1	4x2
An Lon Dubh Báidte (CL)	ND 2;16	3	5,1	4x2
An Londubh 's an Cháirseach	LD;no, 37	2	8,1	4x4
An Maidrín Ruadh	CAS 1;4	2/3	7,2	2x4+R(2)
An Mairnéalach Loinge	Gunn;36	3	4,1	4x2
An Marcach	ND 2;24	3	5,1	4x2
An Margadh	ND 2;73	2	4,2	4x2
An Mhaighdean Úg	AGCC;44	3	8,1	2x4
An Mhódhamhuil Mhaiseach	AGCC;120	3	7,2	4x3
An Muiltín	DCCU;316	3	6,1	2x2
An Úg-Chearc Ghuir	ACF;44	3	4,1/2,1	AABA+R(1)
An Úigbhean gan Bhéim	DCCU;327	3	7,3	4x4
An úige is an amaideacht	SU;31	3	2,3	P
An Páistín Fiún	Free.;285	3	4,1/3,2	(3A+B)+R(3)
An Paorach	DD;76	3	7,2	2x4
An Pocaire	MMS;90	3	7,2	4x3
An Póiteoir	DCCU;283	3	4,1	4x2
An Póní Beog Bwí	Free.;305	3	4,1	4x2
An Pósadh Brónach	DCCU;141	3	6,1	4x2
An Pósadh Fuathmhar	DCCU;144	24,2		2x2
An Pótaire ag Moladh an Uisge-Beatha	Raf.;153	2	4,2/2,3	AABA
An Rábaire Bacaigh ón Mumhain	ND 3;58	3	5,1	4x2
An Rábaire Gabhann	ACG;51	3	4,2/4,1	4A+3B+2C
An Rabh Tú 'gCill-Dara?	ACU;51	3	4,2	4x2+R(2)
An Radaire Dall	CCU;110	3	5,1	4x2

An raibh tú ag an gCarraig?	DG:34	3	5,1	4x2
An Raicín Áluinn	AMS:132	2	4,1	4x2
An Réice Tailliúra	Gunn:40	3	6,3	2x2+R(2)
An Réilthean Leanabach	AG:59	2/3	4,1/8,1	4A+2B+C
An Rógaire Cuairteach	CD:71	3	4,23	4x2
An Ruaig	MMS:107	2/3	8,1	4x4
An rud atá i ndán domh	SU:47	3	2,2	P
An Samhradh Cruaidh	LD:no. 64	3	Mixed	2(3A+B)
An Samhradh ag Filleadh go hÉirinn	DD:97	2/3	7,2	4x4
An Sár	Free,:293	3	7,2	4x4
An Sárf	MMS:92	3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
An Sayidiúirín Shingil	Free,:102	3	5,1	4x2
An Sbérvean Cheaunsa	Free,:313	2	7,2	4x3
An Sciolladh	FC:77	3	4,2	4x2
An Seabhac Siubhail	PPM:230	2/3	6,1	4x3
An Sean-duine Seoirse	PPM:96	3	4,2	4x2
An Seandúine Cam	AMS:118	3	8,1	4x4
An Sgeilpín Droighneach	CD:31	2	8,1	2x4
An Sgol-Mhaghaister	ILM:68	2/3	8,1	4x4
An Shaunvean Vocht	Free,:186	2	8,1/4,1	AABA
An Sheanduini II	Free,:286	3	8,1/4,3	AABA
"An Síoda 'Tá it Bhaillet?"	ACF:132	3	7,2	4x3+R(2)
An Síogaí Rómhánach	OR:17	3	34,2	P
An Síogaí Rómhánach (CL)	OR:32	3	5,1	4x2
An Sistealóir Brónach	DCCU:142	2	4,1	4x2
An Smachtín Crón	ACF:18	3	4,1/3,1	C
An Sotach agus a Mháthair	Gunn:43	3	4,2	P
An Spád	DCCU:445	3	6,3	4x2
An Spailpín Fánach	ACG:94	2	7,2	4x2
An Spealadóir	Free,:199	2/3	6,1	4x3
An Spiorad Naomh	ND 1:40	3	4,1	4x2
An Sprid	ACF:30	3	5,1	4x2
An Stáicín Órnan	Free,:241	2	8,1/4,3	AABA
An Sueshin Bán	Free,:159	2	4,1	4x2
An Táilliúir Aerach	AG:62	3	4,1	4x2+R(2)
An tAsal Maol	Gunn:53	3	8,1	4x4
An tAthair Micheál Coimín	Gunn:55	3	7,2	4x4
An t-Athair Uilliam	Raf,:43	3	7,2	4x4
ch/ An té na n-Ólann ach uisce	SU:177	3	2,2	P
An t-Iolrach Mór	ACG:77	2	8,1	4x4
An Tionónta	ND 2:1	3	3,3	4x1
An tOllamh Úr	FF:113	3	8,1	2x4
An t-Orangeman	DCCU:42	3	8,1/4,3	AABA+R(4)
An tSail Chuach	ACG:20	2	7,2	4x4
An tSean-Bhean Liath	AMS:128	2	8,1	4x4
An tSeanbhó Mhallaithe	RB:88	2/3	8,1	4x4
An tSlis	FC:64	2	4,12	4x2
An tUan Brocach	DCCU:318	3	6,1	4x2
An t-Úbhal	CAS 1:17	2/3	8,1	2x4+R(2)
An Tuirnín Lín	ACF:82	3	4,1	4x2+R(3)
An Tuirse a's an Brón so	AGCC:22	3	5,1	4x2
An t-Ultach Beadaidhe	CCU:58	2/3	7,2	4x4
An Turcach Mór	MMS:30	2/3	8,1	4x4
Anach Cuain	Raf,:70	2/3	8,1	4x4
Angelical Maid	PML:49	3	5,1	4x2
Anois,a Shiúirín	CD:17	3	8,1	4x4
Antoine Mhac Conmara	MMS:46	3	4,1	4x2

Antoine Ó Dálaigh	Raf.;63	3	56,1	4x2
Aodh Ó Ruairc	ACG;37	3	5,1	4x2
Aonach Bhearna na Gaoithe	ILM;53	37,2		4x3
Aonach na Gribe	CCU;123	3	6,1	2x2
Ar an Ábhar go dTáinig	Bar.;50	3	7,2	P
Ar an Athair Aodh Ó Maolagáin	DCCU;359	3	8,1	2x4
Ar an dTaobh Thall de'n Ghóilín	ACF;26	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Ar an gCoill Mhóir	ACG;87	2/3	8,1	4x4
Ar Choileach a Goideadh...	DT;146	36,3		2x2
Ar Éirí dom ar Maidin	APD;no. 10	2/3	4,2	4x2
Ar Éirinn Ní Neosfainn Cé hí	DD;49	3	6,1	4x2
Ar Leagadh a n-Arm do Ghaoithealaibh	PH;48	3	5,1	4x2
Ar Maidin Dé Luain	DD;52	3	8,1	2x4
Ar Maidin Moch	DD;55	3	7,1	4x3
Ar Shéamus Ó Ceallacháin...	DCCU;31	3	8,1	2x4
Ar Shéamus Ó Ceallacháin...(CL)	DCCU;32	3	4,1	4x2
Ar Tharagair Cholmchille	DCCU;34	3	7,2	4x4
Aréir ar mo leabaidh	CM;19	3	4,1	AABA+R(1)
Art Mac Naois agus an Madadh Ruadh	DCCU;272	2	7,3	4x3
Art Mór Ó Murchaídh (CL)	DCCU;423	3	5,1	4x2
Art Ó Ceallaigh	CO;40	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Art Óg Ó Néill agus a Mhuintir	AMC;97	3	6,1	7A+B
Arthur Mhac Eoin	AMC;105	3	4,1	4x2
Aryr is mé 'mw' ánar	Free.;274	3	7,1/4,1	AABA
Aryr is mé 'r mo wogadyl	Free.;299	2	4,2	4x2
As I was walking one evening fair	PPM;5	2/3	8,1	4x4
Atá Paircín Bheag Agamsa	ACU;178	2	4,1/2,3	AABA
Atáim Sínte ar do Thuamba	IPS;148	3	4,2	4x2
Avarán a Wáish (2)	Free.;215	2/3	8,2	4x4
Bá Phádraig Uí Dhónaill	ND 2;67	3	5,1	4x2
Báb na gCraobh	LD;no. 42	3	6,1	4x2
Bacach Buidhe na Léige	LD;no. 60	2	8,1	4x4
Bacach Mála	CCU;124	2	8,1	4x4
Bacach na Pléide	DCCU;386	3	5,1	4x2
Baile Uí Gháigín	DD;90	3	7,2	4x3
Bainis Pheigi Ní Eaghra	MMS;23	2/3	Mixed	C
Bainis an tSleadhtháin Mhóir	Raf.;111	3	8,2	4x4
Bainne "Dhuibh na Féile"	CO;67	2	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Báitheadh Sheáin Óig 'ic Giolla Cearr	DCCU;177	3	4,2	P
Bán-Chnuic Éireann Dighe	FF;99	3	7,1/4,1	AABA+R(4)
Banaís Shrath Greadaigh	Iorr.;216	3	Mixed	C
Barántas Scríofa	Bar.;57	2/3	6,2	P
Barántas an Bhata (A)	Bar.;42	3	6,2	4x3
Barántas an Bhata (B)	Bar.;44	3	4,2	P
Barántas an Hata	Bar.;34	2/3	6,3	4x3
Barraí na hÁrdaí	DCCU;173	3	5,1	4x2
Barún Bhaile Shláine	SNC;70	2	8,1	4x4
Bás agus an Muilleóir	AMS;62	3	4,1	4x2
Bás an Ghabhair	AMB;39	3	7,2	4x4
Bé 'n Éirinn í (1)	IPS;152	3	Mixed	ABCB
Bé 'n Éirinn í (2)	IPS;118	3	4,1	4x2+R(1)
Béal Átha Ragad	DD;36	3	5,1	4x2
Béal an Átha Buidhe	ACG;15	3	5,1	4x2
Béal-Átha-na-hAibhne	Raf.;37	3	7,2	4x3
Béalaghártha	Raf.;247	2	8,1	4x4
Bean Dubh an Ghleanna (1)	ACF;22	2/3	7,2	4x4
Bean Dubh an Ghleanna (2)	IPS;46	3	6,1	4x2

Bean Dubh an Ghleanna (3)	ND 2;10	3	6,1	4x2
Bean Ústa Bhearna Gaoithe	DD;66	2	4,2	4x2
Bean an Fhir Ruaidh (1)	ACG;135	3	5,1	4x2
Bean an Fhir Ruaidh (2)	Raf.;97	3	5,1	4x2
Bean an tSeanduine	AMS;32	2	4,1	4x2
Bean na Gruaige Báine	MMS;108	3	6,2	4x2
Bean na n'or-fholt donn	PPM;41	2	7,2	4x4
Beannacht is Buadh Dé	LD;no. 34	3	8,1/4,2	AABA
Beannacht leat-sa, a Leabhráin (CL)	R agus A;61	3	5,1	4x2
Beannaigh an Longsa (CL)	ND 1;10	3	5,1	4x2
Beannaím duit, a Chrois	APD;no. 73	2	6,1	4x2
Bearta Crúa I	Free.;307	2	7,2	4x3
Beartlín Cing	ACG;74	2	8,1	4x4
Beatha Chathail Bhuidhe	DCCU;370	3	8,1	4x4
Beile n-i Chiarabhain	IM 1;278	3	4,1	4x2
Beir uaim-se Friotal	PF;123	3	5,1	4x2
Beo-Chaoine Mhartain Ui Chreadain	ILM;72	3	4,2	4x2
Bháitear Ug a Bláca	ACG;24	3	7,2	4x3
Bheirim-se mo Mhallacht	Iorr.;257	3	4,2	4x2
Bhí mé Seal de mo Shaoghal	DCCU;121	3	7,2	4x4
Bhí mé Thiar i Málainn	DCCU;180	3	8,1	2x4
Bhuail Aisling thrí mo Néall mé	CD;125	2	8,1	2x4
Bí 'Teacht liom a Bhrighid	DCCU;326	3	8,1	4x4
Bideach Dheas Ní Nigh	ACG;141	2/3	7,2	4x4
Bidí	ND 2;10	3	4,2	4x2
Bidí Dheas na bPéarlaí	ACG;18	2	7,2	4x4
Bímís ag Ól (1)	AMS;147	3	6,1	2x2
Bímísh ig Ól (2)	Free.;321	3	8,1	2x4+R(2)
Bímse Buan ar Buaidhirt	FF;36	3	4,1	4x2+R(3)
Binn Lisín Aerach an Bhrógha	ACF;114	3	6,1	4x2
Bláth na nUbhall	DCCU;104	3	6,1	4x2
Bliadhain 'sa Taca so Phós mé	ACF;152	3	6,1	4x2
Blúire	CD;58	3	4,3/4,1	3A+B
Bó Bhodhar Bhalbh	CM;20	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Bó na Leah-Ayirci	Free.;244	3	4,2	4x2+R(2)
Bodaigh na hEorna, I	AMC;102	3	7,2	4x4
Bodaigh na hEorna, II	AMC;104	3	4,3	4x2
Bónaigh ó'n bhFrainnc	DCCU;24	2	7,2	2x4
Brian Ó Cuagáin (1)	PML;21	3	5,1	4x2
Brian Ó Cuagáin (2a)	PML;23	3	4,1	4x2
Brian Ó Cuagáin (2b)	PML;24(43-6)	3	5,1	4x2
Brian Ó Cuagáin (2c)	PML;24(52ff.)	3	34,2	P
"Brian Ó Dálaigh"	DCCU;168	3	4,2	4x2
Bríghdín Ní Mháille	DCCU;52	2	8,1	2x4
Brighid Bhán	CCU;111	2	7,2	4x4
Brighid Bhéasaigh	Raf.;102	2	8,1	2x4
Brighid Gheal Bhán	ACF;38	3	5,1	4x2
Bríghid Ní Bheirn	Cais.;59	3	8,1	4x4
Bríghid Ní Cheallaigh (A)	DD;98(v,1)	3	12,1	2x4
Bríghid Ní Cheallaigh (B)	DD;98(v,2-4)	3	6,1	4x2
Brighid Ní Phádraic	ACG;82	2	8,1	4x4
Brighid Nic Ghiolla Laeidh	CD;14	2	7,2	4x4
Brighid Ug Ní Néill	DCCU;118	2	7,2	4x4
Brighid a Stóir	AGCC;76	3	4,3	4x2
Brighitt Crus	IM 1;14	3	8,1	4x4
Briseadh Eachdhruim	DCCU;22	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Briseadh na Bóinne, 1690	DCCU;21	3	7,2	4x4

Brón Dhómhnaill i ndiaidh Mhaghnuis	DCCU;148	2	4,2	4x2
Brón ar an tSneachda	Iorr.;225	3	6,1	4x2
Bruach na Cairthe Léith'	CO;21	2	4,1	4x2
Bruach na Carraige Báine	DG;30	3	7,2	4x3
Bruach na Finne	DCCU;328	3	5,1	4x2
Bruingiol Baile Ath Samnais	IPS;140	3	7,2	4x4
Buachaill ón Éirne	CT;30	3	5,1	4x2
Buachaillí an Bhealaigh	DD;41	3	5,1	4x2
Buaidhreach an Phósta	CT;38	3	6,1	4x2
Bualadh Bhaile Roibín	DD;33	3	7,2	2x4
Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin	DD;39	2	4,1	4x2
Cá Raibh tú ó Mhaidin?	CO;54	3	4,1/2,3	AABA
Cabhair Ní Ghairfead	DT;164	3	5,2	4x2
Cad a ghean hig saguirt feasta	Free.;232	3	8,1	4x4
Caidé sin do'n té sin,...	DCCU;239	3	4,1	4x2
Cailín a Chúil Chrävuig	Free.;170	2	4,2	4x2
Cailín as Aontruim	DCCU;57	3	4,2	4x2
Cailín Deas Bhréachmhuigh	CCU;51	2/3	8,1	4x4
Cailín Deas Crúite na mBó (1)	ACF;210	3	6,1	4x2
Cailín Deas Crúite na mBó (2)	ACF;70	3	6,1	4x2
Cailín na Brionglóide	DCCU;107	3	45,1	4x2
Cailíní Sheáin Uí Chuileannáin	DD;92	3	6,1	4x2
Cáineadh Phara Joe,...	CCU;125	3	4,2	4x2
Caipitín Bruadar	ACG;5	2	4,1/2,2	AABA
Caipitín Fuiscí	POD;36	3	8,1	4x4
Caipitín Ó Máille	ACG;139	2	8,1	4x4
Caisleán Dhúin Mathghamhain	DCCU;204	3	5,1	4x2
Caisleán na Finne	DCCU;72	3	7,2	4x3
Caisleán Uí Néill	AG;26	3	5,1	4x2
Caismirt an Phótaire,...	Raf.;86	3	7,1	4x3
Cáit Bhéilbhinn	ND 2;34	3	6,1	4x3
Cáit Ní Dhuibhir	ND 3;4	3	6,1	4x2
Cait Ni Neill	PPM;206	2/3	6,1	4x3
Cáitín an Chúil Chraobhaigh	CM;33	3	4,2	4x2
Cáitlín Bán do Phádraig Mac a Liondain	PML;55	3	4,23	4x2
Caitlín Laghach Nic Pháidín	DCCU;304	3	7,2	2x4
Caitlín Ní Vallacháin	ACF;104	2/3	6,1	4x3
Caitlín Nighean tSeoin	CT;79	3	8,1	2x4
Caitlín Tiriall	ND 2;5	3	4,1	4x2
Caoín Róis	DCCU;114	3	8,1	2x4
Caoine	Breat.;242	3	34,2	4x2
Caoine ar Mhac Finín Duibh (A)	Éigse 13;222	3	2,2	P
Caoine ar Mhac Finín Duibh (B)	Éigse 13;222	3	23,2	P
Caoine ar Mhac Finín Duibh (C)	Éigse 13;223	3	3,1	P
Caoine ar Mhac Finín Duibh (D)	Éigse 13;224	3	3,2	P
Caoine ar Thomás Ó Dálaigh	Raf.;34	3	5,1	4x2
Caoine na Maighdine	Breat.;245	2/3	4,2	4x2
Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire (A)	CAL;372-83	3	2,1	P
Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire (B)	CAL;36-43	3	2,2	P
Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire (C)	CAL;255-62	3	2,3	P
Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire (D)	CAL;384-90	3	3,1	P
Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire (E)	CAL;167-78	3	3,2	P
Caoineadh an Athar Éamoinn,...	DCCU;192	2	4,1	4x2
Caoineadh an Athar Liam Uí Mhaolalaigh	DTA;56	3	4,1	4x2
Caoineadh Athar	DT;258	3	4,2	P
Caoineadh Dhiarmada Mhic Eoghain (A)	ND 3;9,1-6	3	2,3	P
Caoineadh Dhiarmada Mhic Eoghain (B)	ND 3;9,7-17	2/3	3,2	P

Caoineadh Dhiarmada Mhic Eoghain (C)	ND 3;10,38-49	3	3,1	P
Caoineadh Dhiarmada Mhic Eoghain (D)	ND 3;11,61-84	3	2,2	P
Caoineadh Dhomhnaill Óig	ND 3;20	2	7,2	4x4
Caoineadh do Ghabha Óg Ciarraíoch	DO;56	3	4,2	5x2
Caoineadh don Athair Risteard Ó Sé	DO;55	3	5,1	4x2
Caoineadh don Bhantiarna Bhuiltéar	DO;50	3	4,2	5x2
Caoineadh don Tiarna Cuffe	DO;51	3	34,2	P
Caoineadh Eibhlinne	DCCU;306	3	6,1	4x2
Caoineadh na Mná Óige	DCCU;145	2	4,2	4x2
Caoineadh na dTrí Muire	ND 3;21	2	3,1/4,1	2x2+R(4)
Caoineadh Sheámais Uí Cheanracháin	DTA;53	3	4,2	P
Caoineadh Uí Cheallaigh	Raf.;75	3	6,1	4x2
Captain Slattey	Gunn;78	3	6,1	4x2
Carraig Seac	DO;42	3	8,1	4x4
Casadh an tSúgáin	IPS;42	3	5,1	4x2
Casadh cam na Feardarnaighe	ACU;87	2	4,2	2x2
Cat Hannraoi Uí Fhloinn	Iorr.;223	3	8,1	4x4
Cath Chéim an Fhiaidh	FF;149	2	Mixed	AABC
Cathair Dhroichead Átha	R agus A;42	3	4,2	8x2
Cathair na Léige	ACF;134	3	5,1	4x2
Cathal Mac Aoidh	ND 2;46	3	8,1	2x4
Cathaoir Mhac Cába	ACG;108	2	4,2	4x2
Cé sin ar mo Thuama?	DT;312	3	4,2	4x2
Ceann dubh díleas	DG;39	3	8,1	4x4+R(2)
Ceapadh Dánta	AG;29	2/3	7,2	4x3
Cearc agus Coileach	AMS;74	3	8,1	2x4
Ceárdcha an Úir	CCU;116	3	4,1	4x2
Ceataí na gCiabh	CB;73	3	4,1	4x2
Ceathrú	DT;102	3	5,1	4x2
Ceattuigh Bhán	CCU;75	2	4,2	4x2
Ceithre Ráithche na Bliadhna	CCU;1	3	8,1	4x4
Ceo Draoidheachta	FF;34	3	6,1	4x2
Ceol an Phíobaire	DG;23	3	8,1/4,2	AABA+R(4)
Ceol na bhFaoileán Bhána	AGI;40	2	8,1	4x4
Ceol na mBréag	DCCU;270	3	5,1	4x2
Chan Codladh mo Chodladh	DCCU;97	3	4,1	4x2
Chan Fheil agam acht Scadán Amháin	ACU;50	3	6,3	2x2+R(2)
Chuaidh Tusa Thart go Mall Mall Aréir	DCCU;102	3	4,1	4x2
Chuim Séamais Buitléir go hÉirinn	PH;61	3	4,1	4x2
Chum Duine Áirithe ar bPósadh dho....	PH;18	3	4,3	4x2
Chum Fir an Tuaithleasa	PH;20	3	4,1	4x2
Cia hé an fear	R agus A;57	3	4,2	4x2
Ciach ar na Bairnigh!	ND 3;14	3	4,1/2,2	AABA+R(4)
Cill-Aodáin, nó Condae Mhuigh-eó	Raf.;49	3	8,1	4x4
Cill Chais	FF;85	3	6,1	4x2
Ciotuigh Ní Eaghra	DCCU;197	3	5,1	4x2
Cití na gCumann	DD;100	3	6,1	4x2
Cití na n-Úll	ND 3;41	3	5,1	4x2
Clár Geal Mumhan	CO;95	3	4,1	4x2
Cleith a' tSúghaidh	CM;30	3	7,2	4x4
"Cloich Reódh"	ACF;24	3	7,2	4x3
Cluiche an Bháis	ND 2;57	3	5,1	4x2
Cnapastún Mhucrois	DCCU;391	3	6,1	2x2
Cnocáinín Aereach Cill Mhuire	LD;no. 67	3	7,2/4,1	AABA
Cnocáinín Aiting	Free.;318(v,2)	3	8,1/4,1	AABA
Cnocán an Eanaigh	Raf.;253	3	8,1	4x4
Cogar Mogar	ACF;20	2	7,1	4x3

Coillidh Ríogh Sheámuís	DCCU;389	3	4,2	4x2
Coillte Glasa an Triúcha	DT;280	3	7,2	4x3
Coinfheasgor Fhogmhair	CCU;72	3	7,2	4x4
Cois Abha Móire na nDéise	LD;no, 12	2/3	7,2	4x4
Cois Abhann i nDé	EDS;45	3	7,2	4x4
Cois an Ghaorthaidh	CAS 4;3	2/3	6,1	4x3
Cois Chalaithé an Ghóilín	ACF;212	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Cois Laoi na Sreabh	ACF;66	3	12,1	4x4
Cois Taoibh Abhann Sínte	EDS;67	3	4,1	4x2
Cois na Brighde	ACF;182	2/3	6,1	4x3
Colsalach	Iorr.;213	2	4,2	4x2
Comhairle an Chailín	DCCU;150	2/3	8,1	4x4
Comhairle d'Fhearaibh Óga	AG;33	2/3	7,2	4x4
Conndae Mhuigh Eó	DCCU;390	2/3	4,1/2,3	AABA+R(3)
Connlach Ghlas an Fhogmhair	DCCU;80	3	67,1	4x3
Connspóid eadar Ultach agus Connachtach	DCCU;397	3	4,2	4x2
Cormac Óg	ND 1;82	3	5,1	4x2
Cormac Spáinneach	ACF;176	3	7,2	4x3
Craiceann an Lao	DD;72	2	4,2	4x2
Creach na Lachan	DCCU;392	3	8,1	2x4
Créacht do Dháil me	DOB;26	3	4,2	4x2
Créacht do Dháil me (CL[a])	DOB;48	3	6,1	4x3
Créacht do Dháil me (CL[b])	DOB;50	3	5,1	4x2
Crioch Dheanach an Duine	ILM;24	3	4,2	4x2
Croppy Lie Down	DD;87	3	5,1	4x2
Cruit Phádraig Mhic a Liondain	PML;53	3	4,2	4A+2B+2C
Cuach na Finne	AGI;33	3	5,1	4x2
Cuacha Lán de Bhuidhe	ACU;49	3	7,1	P+R(4)
Cuaichín Ghleann Náifinn	ACG;99	3	6,2	4x2
Cuairt an Laoigh	CD;48	3	5,1	4x2
Cuan Bhinn Éadair	ACU;43	2/3	8,1	4x4
Cuan Choilinn	ACG;126	3	6,1	4x2
Cuíl Ruish	Free.;137	3	8,1/4,1	4A+4B
Cuirim dá dTórafocht	Bar.;62	3	7,2	4x3
Cuirim-sa Sonas agus Séan....	DCCU;94	3	6,1	2x2
Cúirt an Fhaoitigh	DTA;59	3	4,2	4x2
Cúirt an Mheán Ósche	BM;passim	3	4,12	P
Cúirt Bhaile an Mhuighe	ACG;119	3	6,1	4x2
Cúirt Uí Cheallacháin	DT;144	3	4,2	4x2
Cuisle na h-Eigse	PPM;60	3	4,1/2,1	AABA+R(1)
Cúl Tiugh na bPéarlaí	DCCU;47	3	8,1	2x4
Cúl Tiugh na gCraobh	CT;48	3	8,1	4x4
Cumadh an Cheoil (CL)	SMC;47	3	5,1	4x2
Cumha Eoghain Rua Uí Néill	PML;5	3	5,1	4x2
Cumhaidh Uí Cheallaigh	DCCU;377	3	5,1	4x2
Cupán Uí h-Eaghra	IPS;74	3	4,1	4x2
D'aithle na bhFileadh (CL)	DT;116	3	5,1	4x2
D'aithneochainn mo Ghrádh	CD;46	3	5,1	4x2
Dá Bhrí Sin Aitchim	Bar.;66	2/3	8,2	4x4
Dálá Leanfainn tú	DD;85	3	4,3/4,1	AABA+R(4)
Dá mBéadh Péire Sgiathán	CD;132	3	4,12	4x2
Dá mBéinn Phéin i nAirdí Chuain	DCCU;194	3	4,1/3,2	(3A+B)+R(1)
Dá mBeinn i gCeanannas	DD;64	3	4,2	5x2
Dá mBéinn-se ar meisge	CD;75	3	5,1	4x2+R(1)
Dá mBéinn-se Pósta	CD;34	2/3	8,1	4x4
Dá méing-she féinig	Free.;270	3	4,3	4x2
Dán ar Dhamhsaí an Risigh	DCCU;421	3	7,2	2x4

Dán Bhriain Uí Cheallaigh	PML:9	2	12,1	4x4
Dán Phádraig Mic A Liondain	PML:54	3	7,2	4x3
Dán-Mholadh na Gaedhilge	ACF:90	3	4,1/7,2	C
Dé bheathasa chugainn, a shagairt	APD:no, 81	3	3,2	4x1
De bhrí gach réabadh (CL)	Bar.:69	3	5,2	4x2
De chonnradh foirceadal	ND 1:47	3	4,3	4x2
Dean mar 'dhéanfadh máthair	APD:no, 473	2	4,1	2x2
Deineadh Aisling Araoir Dom	CM:22	3	Mixed	ABCB
Déirín Dé	DG:11	3	4,1	4x2+R(4)
Díospóireacht Raifteri leis an Deadhan	Raf.:236	3	6,2	4x2
Do Allsún Baidhtiún	PH:18	3	5,1	4x2
Do Antaine Ó Leannáin	AMB:37	2/3	7,2	4x4
Do b' ún lium shcéal	Free.:300	2/3	8,1	4x4
Do Chlann Tomáis	DT:168	3	4,1	4x2
Do Chonnac Aisling ar Maidin...	PF:124	3	34,2	4x2
Do Chuala Inné	DT:92	3	4,3	4x2
Do chuala scéal do chéas gach ló mé	ND 1:31	3	34,2	P
Do chuala scéal... (CL)	ND 1:34	3	7,2	4x4
Do Chuirfinn-se Féin mo Leabh...	ACF:192	3	4,2	4x2+R(3)
Do fríth, monuar, an uain si ar Éirinn	DR:3	3	34,2	P
Do fríth, monuar... (CL)	DR:11	3	5,1	4x2
Do Hugus Grá Cléiv Ghoet	Free.:295	3	7,2/4,1	AABA
Do Mháire Bhreathnach	DO:75	3	6,1	4x2
Do Mháire Tóibín	PH:3	3	5,1	4x2
Do Phádraig Ó Luain	ND 2:64	3	6,1	4x2
Do Rinneadh Aisling Bheag Aerach	EOS:74	3	8,1/4,2	AABA
Do Roiberd Óg Carrún	DT:94	3	5,1	4x2
Do Shiúlaigh Mise an Mhumhain Mhín	DT:142	2/3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
Do Thadhg Ó Faoláin	PH:17	3	6,1	4x3
Do Thiobóid Buitléar	PH:44	3	4,1	4x2
Do'n Athair Séamas Ó Dubhthaigh (CL)	DCCU:355	2/3	6,1	4x3
Don Athair Tomás Ó Milléadha	DO:64	3	4,23	4x2
Don Easpag Ó Siall (CL)	SMC:53	3	5,1	4x2
Don Tadhg Céadna	PH:17	3	5,1	4x2
Do'n tSagart Chéadna	DCCU:357	3	4,2	4x2
Do'n tSagart Chéadna (CL)	DCCU:357	3	8,1	4x4
Dochtúir Jennings	AMS:52	2/3	8,1	4x4
Doicheall (CL)	ND 1:35	3	5,1	4x2
Doimnic Ó Domhnaill	CCU:15	3	6,3	2x2+R(2)
Doimnic Ruadh na Glaisighe	DCCU:170	3	5,1	4x2
Doire Néidh Chasla	CO:73	3	8,1	2x4
Domhnall	ACG:91	2	4,1	4x2
Domhnall Meirgeach	MMS:59	2	7,2	4x3
Domhnall na Gréine	ACF:130	3	4,2	4(A+B)
Domhnall Ó Dubhshláine	ACF:148	3	8,1	2x4
Domhnall Ó Maoláine	DCCU:110	3	8,1	2x4
Domhnall Óg is Micheál Ó Bláthmhail	AGI:42	2	7,2	2x4
Dónall Óg	DD:106	3	4,23	4x2
Dónall Rua agus a Thabhartas	DO:70	3	6,1	4x2
Donncha Bán	DT:336	2	4,2	4x2
Donnchadh Ó Baoighill	DCCU:184	2	7,2	4x4
Doraidh Braoin	MMS:65	2/3	8,1	4x4
Droichead na Tuair	LD:no, 48	3	6,1	4x2
Droimeann Donn Dílis	DT:310	3	4,12	4x2
Duan an Bhádóra	IPS:86	3	5,1	4x2+R(3)
Duan Chroidhe Íosa	FF:17	3	5,1	4x2
Dubhamhrán	AMB:42	3	4,2	P

Dúiche Chréamhainn	ND 2:18	3	7,2	4x3
Duine Buaidheartha ina Chéill mé	DCCU:201	3	45,1	4x2
Dúithche 'n Phaoraigh	AMS:37	2	8,1	4x4
Dúlaman	ACU:53	3	4,2	4x2+R(2)
Dún Níne	AGI:47	3	4,2	4x2
Eachroim	ND 2:2	3	34,2	P
Eachtra 'n Aére	Breat.:237	3	6,3	P
Éad Chlochair le hÁrdmhach (CL)	DCCU:158	3	5,1	4x2
Éamann Mhágaíne	ND 3:45	3	8,1	2x4
Éamonn an Chnuic	FF:46	3	7,2	4x3
Éamonn Buidhe	CT:76	3	5,1	4x2
Easguine Mhic Suibhne...	MMS:17(v,12-5)	3	5,1	4x2
Easmail is Ár	FF:114	3	4,3	4x2
Eibhlín a' Ruain	CO:131	2	4,1/2,2	AABA+R(4)
Eilís (CL)	ND 2:9	3	4,1	4x2
Éinín Troideóige	DCCU:115	3	5,1	4x2
Éirighidh a Dhaoine	CO:80	3	8,1	2x4
Éist m'Osnadh, a Mhuire Mhór (CL)	DOB:10	3	5,1	4x2
Eóchaill	ACF:4	2/3	8,1	4x4
Eoghainín Ó Ragadáin	CT:46	3	4,3	4x2+R(3)
Eóghan Cóir	ACF:124	3	6,1	4x2
Eóin Búrcach	ACU:73	2	4,2	4x2
Er Mwaidin er Drúcht	Free.:323	3	4,1	4x2
Er Mwaidin Iné	Free.:255	3	15,2	2(3A+B)
Éshtig go nínshad mo shcéal	Free.:235	3	6,3	2x2
Fá dtear mo mhúirnín fháinnigh	ACU:36	3	4,3	2x2+R(4)
Faha Vrea Aerach a Cheoil	Free.:324	3	7,1/4,2	AABA/AABC
Fáilte dhuit, a Mhuire mhór	APD:no. 457	3	4,12	6x2
Fáilte don Éan (CL)	ND 2:17	3	5,1	4x2
Fáilte Mháire Brún	DCCU:396	3	8,12	2x4
Fáilte rómhad (CL)	R agus A:63	3	5,1	4x2
Fáilte Uí Cheallaigh	MMS:10	3	5,1	4x2
Fáilte Uí Chonaill is Uí Bhriain	DCCU:37	3	7,2	4x3
Failtiughadh Righ Searlas	PPM:138	3	8,1	4x4
Fáinne geal an lae	ND 3:48	2	4,1	4x2
Faisean chlár Eibhir	ND 1:11	3	4,2	4x2
Fanni Biadhtach	IM 1:12	3	8,1	4x4
Faoi Lár na Lice Seo	FF:113	3	5,1	4x2
Faoi mhalaigh Shliabh Crúb	R agus A:13	3	7,2	4x4
Faoisdín Uí Chaiside	Cais.:57	3	8,1	4x4
Fastuighim an Mhangaire Shugaig	PPM:86	3	6,1	4x2
Fear agus Bean ag Freagairt a Chéile	DD:94	3	7,2	4x4
Fear an Bhata	CCU:102	3	4,2	4x2
Feartlaoi (1a)	ND 2:5(1-4)	3	5,1	4x2
Feartlaoi (1b)	ND 2:5(5-8)	3	5,2	4x2
Feartlaoi (2)	RB:91	3	4,2	4x2
Feichín Ó Laidhe	ACG:53	3	4,2	4x2
Féidhlimidh Bán Ó Ceallaigh	DCCU:432	3	8,1	2x4
Féidhlimidh Óg Ó Frighil	DCCU:379	3	7,3	4x3
Fóghmhar na mBan Óg	DCCU:147	2	4,1	4x2
Fórnocht	ACF:64	2	6,1	4x2
Freagra Dhonnchadh Uí Shuillibhain	PPM:258	3	4,1/2,2	AABA
Frinseach Thír' Eóghain	AMS:60	3	4,1	4x2
Gabha Dubh Chill Chaise	DTA:36	2	8,1	4x4
Gabhar Innse Beárna	MMS:47	3	5,1	4x2
Gaeil bhochta na Glanáille	ND 1:57	3	3,3	4x1

Gaorthaí Airirighe	ACF:188	3	15,2	2(3A+B)
Gaoth a chríonanns	SU:131	3	2,2	P
Geaftaí Bhaile Buí	ND 2:72	2	7,2	4x4
Géag na Lúth'	DCCU:151	3	5,1	4x2
Gearailt Óg Ó Dochartaigh	DCCU:164	2	45,1	4x2
Gearrán Bhriain Uí Bheirn (CL)	SMC:44	3	5,1	4x2
Geobham Airís an Crúiscín	ACF:76	2	4,2	4x2+R(1,3)
Gile na Gile	FF:28	3	4,3	4x2
Gile na Gile (CL)	FF:29	3	5,1	4x2
Giodh Tláthshop Sgaipithe...	PH:1	3	5,1	4x2
Giolla na Péice	RB:77	3	4,2/2,2	2(AABA)
Giorróid Ó Mórdha	ACG:158	3	4,1	4x2
Gleann Domhain	DCCU:315	3	7,2	4x4
Gleann na Ráth	DD:89	2	8,1	2x4
Gníomh Creidimh	FC:63	2	7,2	2x4
Gogaí Ó Gaog	DG:13	3	4,1/2,2	ABBA+R(4)
Goidé Ghéanfas Mise i mBárach	DCCU:105	2	4,1	4x2
Goineadh Mé (CL)	R agus A:66	3	4,1	4x2
Grá na hAilpe	ND 2:52	3	5,1	4x2
Grád mo Chroidhe Thu	AGCC:116	3	4,2	4x2
Gráinne Fhánad	DCCU:324	3	8,1	4x4
Gráinne Mhaol	FF:42	3	4,1	4x2
Gráinne Ní Dhuirín	DCCU:135	3	4,2	4x2
Gréasaidhe Ó'n Ghréig	CCU:92	3	5,1	4x2
Guagán Gliog	DOB:70	3	4,3	4x2
Gul na dTrí Muire	ACU:93	3	4,1	4x2
Habit Shirt	Free:95	2	4,2	4x2
Heistí Hó... (A)	DCCU:257	3	4,3/4,1	3A+B
Heistí Hó... (B) [Ó, a Dhia...]	DCCU:263	3	4,1	4x2
Hó! Ró! Do Bhuig a Shéaghain!	ACU:95	2	4,1/3,2	(3A+B)+R(2)
I am a young fellow	LD:no. 61	3	5,1	4x2
I gCaol-Doire Chraobh-Chluthair	EOS:32	3	8,1/4,1	AABA
I Lobhán 1630	PH:6(no.7)	3	4,1	4x2
I mBéal Feirste Chois Cuain	ND 2:65	3	4,3/4,1	(3A+B)+R(4)
I Mothar Cluthair Chumhrtha	ACF:80	3	8,1	4x4
I nGleau a Chruíng	Free:227	2	7,1	4x3
I Saxaibh na Séad	EOS:50	3	Mixed	C
Iar gClos Báis Mháire	PH:4	3	5,1	4x2
Iar mBriseadh mo Choise Féin...	OT:94	3	5,1	4x2
Im aonar seal ag siubhal bhíos	EOS:48	3	8,1	4x4
Im Leabain Aréir	EOS:29	3	Mixed	C
Imruagadh na gCearrbhach	AMB:45	3	7,2	4x3
In Aimsir Fearthainne	RB:80	3	8,1/4,2	AABA
Inghéan Uí Chearnaigh	DCCU:127	2	7,2	4x3
Inghean Uí Gheairilt (1)	CAS 4:23	3	8,1/4,3	AABA
Inghean Uí Mhórdha	DCCU:61	2	7,2	4x3
Inghion Uí Gheairilt (2)	PPM:92	3	8,1	4x4
Inghíon an Phalaitínigh	ACF:116	2	6,2/7,1	AABA+R(4)
Iníon Dilibhéir Pluincéad	SMC:28	3	8,1	4x4
Iníon an Fhaoitigh Ón nGleann	DTA:32	2	8,1	4x4
Inis Dún Rámha	CT:68	2/3	7,2	4x4
Inis Géidh	Iorr:231	2	7,2	4x4
Iomáin Ionnas Caoin	DCCU:362	2	7,2	4x4
Iomáin Úmáith	DCCU:365	3	7,2	4x4
Iomarbháidh eadar Mhui'tir Luainigh...	CCU:129	3	4,2	4x2
Iomdha Iorradh ag Tulaigh Tuathail	PF:89	3	4,2	4x2
Iomdha Scéimh ar Chur na Cluana	DOB:98	3	2,2	P

Ionarbadh Sheaghain Bhuidhe	IM 2:82	3	8,1	4x4
Iongnadh an Iomaidh Si	DOB:122	3	5,1	4x2
Is Baoth don Fhear...	PH:18	3	5,1	4x2
Is Beag Nach dTigeann Náire Orm	CO:134	3	4,2	4x2
Is Bocht mo Bheatha (A)	DOB:50	3	4,2	4x2
Is Bocht mo Bheatha (B)	DOB:62	3	8,1	4x4
Is Céasta Cathach le Sealad Me	EQS:96	3	4,3	4x2
Is Claidhte an Galar an Grádh	AG:39	3	5,1	4x2
Is Deas an Buachail Páidín	ACF:167	2	4,3	2x2+R(2)
Is Éan Bocht Scaithte Mé	DCCU:303	3	7,2	4x3
Is Fada liom Díche Fhírfhliuch	QT:140	3	5,1	4x2
Is Fada Me ag Imtheacht	AGCC:24	3	4,1	4x2
Is fada mé 'mo luighe	R agus A:19	2/3	8,1	4x4
Is Fada Mise Anocht	ND 2:52	2	7,2	4x4
Is Fada ó Bhaile	DCCU:98	3	5,1	4x2
Is Gairid ó Rinne Mé an Pósadh	AGI:55	3	6,1	4x2
Is Iomdha Puins agus Fíon...	DTA:41	2	7,2	4x4
Is Mairg nár Chrean...(A)	ND 1:50	3	4,3	4x2
Is Mairg nár Chrean...(B)	ND 1:52(73ff.)	3	5,1	4x2
Is Móidím Feasta	PML:50	3	6,1	4x2
Is Mór an t-Ughdar Náire	CO:140	3	6,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (A)	DOB:80(v,2)	3	4,2	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (B)	DOB:80 (v,4)	3	4,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (C)	DOB:82 (v, 6)	3	5,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (D)	DOB:82 (v, 8)	3	5,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (E)	DOB:82 (10,12)	3	4,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (F)	DOB:84 (14,16)	3	5,1	4x2
Is Oic an Ceart (G)	DOB:86 (18-21)	3	4,1	4x2
Is Spealadóir Bocht Singil Mé	ACU:65	2	4,12	4x2
Is Truagh gan mé agus Grádh mo Chléibh	CO:18	3	8,1	4x4
Is Truagh gan mis' i Sasana (1)	AMS:120	2	4,1	2x2
Is truagh gan mise i Sasana (2)	DG:29	3	7,1	4x3
Is Tubaisteach an Cás	AMB:38	3	4,2	4x2
Is tuirseach buaidheartha	R agus A:50	2/3	8,1	4x4
Jimmy mo Mhíle Stór	AG:47	3	5,1	4x2
Jinny Dheas a Dhéigh-Bhean	ACU:71	2	8,1	4x4
Katteen	CO:138	2	4,2	4x2
Lá Chois Cuain	DCCU:438	2	7,2	4x3
Lá Fhéil' Blinne	DCCU:352	3	4,2	4x2
Lá Fhéil' Bríde bricín	SU:127	3	3,2	P
Lá dá rabhas-sa [is mé go déanach]	DD:91	2/3	8,1	4x4
Lá dá rausa [a ngleaun amwänar]	Free.:219	2/3	8,1	4x4
La 'gus mé a' Taisteal am' Aonar	ACF:121	3	6,3	4x2
Labhrás a' Charnáin	AGI:28	3	4,1	4x2
Láirín Cheannann an Phaoraigh	DD:68	3	6,1	4x2
Laoi an Ghiosdaire Mhaoil	DCCU:424	3	5,1	4x2
Le linn uaisle (CL)	R agus A:57	3	5,1	4x2
Leacaí an Chúil Bháin	ACG:96	3	7,2	4x3
Leather away with the wattle, O!	PPM:192	3	7,1/8,1	4A+B+A
Léigheas an Ghúta (CL)	DCCU:266	3	4,1	4x2
Léine Bharraigh	AMS:69	3	8,2	4x4
Leir-ruathar Whiggiona	PPM:76	3	6,3	2x2
Leitir Gheal Ghléigeal	CO:119	3	5,1	4x2
Liam Ó Raghallaigh	DT:334	2	4,12	4x2
Linnseach Bheárnan	ACG:147	2	7,2	4x4
Líon an Ghrá	ND 1:46	3	5,1	4x2
Litir dá Cháirdibh Gaoil...(CL)	DCCU:427	3	4,1	4x2

Litir Shíochánta	ND 2:66	3	6,1	4x2
Loch Aoidh	DCCU:186	2	4,2	4x2
Loch Léin	Free,;124	3	5,1	4x2
Luan Dubh an Áir	ACF:208	3	8,1	2x4
Lúibín na mBúclaí	ACF:187	3	4,1	4x2
M'Uilleagán Dubh Ó	ND 2:35	3	7,1/4,1	AABA
M'réad Nic Suibhne Bháin	DCCU:67	3	45,1	4x2
Má Théid Tú un Aonaigh	DCCU:88	2	4,1	4x2
Má's É an Leoghan Crodha Gaedheal	PF:102	3	5,1	4x2
Má's Trí Rainn (CL)	R agus A:65	3	4,1	4x2
Mac an Cheannai	DT:156	3	7,2	4x3
Mac Baintreabhaighe Mise	DCCU:190	3	6,1	4x2
Macaronic Song	DCCU:106	3	4,1	4x2
Madadh Uí Anluain	AMB:41	2	4,2	4x2
Magaídh Laidir	IM 1:154	3	7,2	4x3
Maidean Drúchta le hAis na Siúrach	EDS:43	2/3	6,1	4x3
Maidin Áluinn Gréine	ACF:50	2	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Maidin Aoibhinn Álainn...	DTA:47	2	8,1	4x4
Maidin Chiuin Cheodhánach	CO:143	3	6,1	4x2
Maidin Gheal tSamhraidh	IPS:132	3	8,1	4x4
Maidin Luain Cíngíse	ACF:6	2	4,1/2,2	AABA
Maigh Cholpa	DTA:46	2	8,1	4x4
Máiligh Bheag Ní 'il Choilleadh	DCCU:66	3	56,1	4x2
Máilleach Croidhe na gCarad	ACG:75	2	8,1	4x4
Mailsín Chnuic an Easa	CO:42	3	3,1/2,1	2(AABA)
Mainistir Bhaile Chláir	AMS:50	3	6,1	4x2
Máir' Ní Ghríofa	AMS:15	2	4,1	4x2
Máire	ACG:152	3	6,1	4x2
Máire Bheag	CCU:94	2	4,1	4x2
Máire Bhruinneall	DCCU:440	2/3	7,2	2x4
Máire Brún	FC:47	2/3	8,1	4x4
Máire Inis-Seirc	AMS:145	3	8,1	2x4
Maire Maguidhir	IM 1:8	3	7,2	4x3
Máire Ní Chinnfhaolaidh	DD:79	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Máire Ní Dhuinnshléibhe	DTA:58	3	4,2	P
Máire Ní Eidhin nó An Pabhsae Glégeal	Raf,;151	2/3	8,1	4x4
Máire Ní Mhaoileoin	DT:316	2	4,1/2,3	AABA
Máire Ní Mhongáin	ACG:122	2/3	8,1	4x4
Máire Nic Comhaill	DCCU:313	3	4,1	4x2
Máire Nic Taidhg Uig	CO:84	3	4,1	4x2
Máire Uig na gCiabhann	AGI:29	3	8,1	2x4
Máire Uig na gCraobh	ACG:134	3	7,2	4x4
Maire ruin	IM 1:296	3	8,1	4x4
Máire Stanton	Raf,;147	2/3	8,1	4x4
Mairg nach fuil 'na Dhubhthuata (CL)	DT:114	3	4,3	4x2
Mairghréad an Bhrollaigh Bháin	MMS:80	3	7,2	4x4
Mairgne a' Choiligh	DCCU:274	3	8,1	2x4
Mairgne fá Chaisleán na Glasdromainne	ND 2:39	3	7,2	4x3
Mairgnidh an Chait (CL)	R agus A:68	3	4,3	4x2
Máirín de Barra	DD:104	3	4,2	4x2
Máirín Deas Bhéil Tuinne	CO:63	3	12,1	2x4
Máirín Flanagan	FC:44	2	8,1	2x4
Máirín Parcer	ACG:132	2/3	8,2	4x4
Máirín Seóighe	CO:53	2/3	8,1	4x4
Mairne Thaidhg Má Chárthaigh	CM:31	3	4,2	4x2
Máirseáil an tsÁirseálaigh	ND 2:4	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Máirtín Seoighe	ACG:47	2/3	8,1	4x4

Mal Bhán Ní Chuilleanáin	CCU:66	3	6,3	2x2+R(2)
Mala an tSléibhe Ruaidh	AGCC:20	3	5,1	4x2
Mala Néifin	AGCC:8	2	4,1	4x2
Malaídh an tSléibh' Báin	DCCU:136	3	6,1	4x2
Malaídh Ghleann Dómhain	DCCU:308	3	7,2	4x4
Malaigh Bhán	DCCU:101	2/3	8,1	2x4
Mallacht ar Dhúiche Ara	DD:68	3	34,2	P
Mallacht Rí na hAoine	DCCU:82	3	6,1	4x2
Malsaigh Ní Dhúithche	DCCU:119	3	4,2	4x2
Marbhna Airt Uí Néill	AMC:118	3	4,2	6x2
Marbhna an Athar Doimnic Bháin...	DCCU:159	3	5,1	4x2
Marbhna Chathail Bhuf	ND 2:49	3	5,1	4x2
Marbhna Dhonnchaidh M'Carrthaic	IM 2:272	3	5,1	4x2
Marbhna Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Néill	CCU:17	3	4,2	P
Marbhna Phádraig Fléimeann	ND 2:55	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Marbhnadh Bhriain Mhic Mhathghamhna	DCCU:218	3	4,2	P
Mé d'Fhanamhain ar Eachtra	ND 1:20	3	5,1	4x2
Méala	DCCU:189	3	7,2	2x4
Mealladh Mná an Tabhairne	CD:59	3	4,1/7,2	AABC+R(4)
Meiriceá	ACG:146	3	67,1	4x2
Mianta Uí Dhoirín	ND 2:29	2/3	8,1	4x4
Micheál Luke Pháidín	MMS:86	3	7,2	4x3
Míle bliain ag fás	SU:55	3	3,1	P
Mise an tOllamh Saoithiúil	AMC:101	2	4,2	4x2
Miss Nash	RB:85	2	8,1	4x4
Mná na mBaintreabhacha	AGI:41	2	4,1	4x2
Mo Bhrón ar an bhFairrge	AGCC:28	3	4,1	4x2
Mo Chaora Bheag Dhílis	CT:28	3	8,1	4x4
Mo Chaoran Ann	ACU:77	3	8,1	2x4
Mo Chás Mo Chaoi Mo Cheasna!	EDS:35	3	12,1	4x4
Mo Chreach a's mo Chás	ACF:48	3	7,2	4x4
Mo Chreach, a Shiúr	DCCU:73	2	7,2	4x3
Mo Lá Leóin go Deo go n-Éagad	DR:86	3	34,2	P
Mo Mhalaigh Bheag Uí	DCCU:383	2/3	4,1/2,3	AABA+R(4)
Mo Mhíle Slán le Éirinn	CD:103	2	4,1	4x2
Mo Mhíle Stór	AMS:55	2	7,1	4x3
Mo pheitision chum na banaomh...(A)	Eigse 6:331	3	5,1	4x2
Mo pheitision chum na banaomh...(B)	Eigse 6:332	3	5,2	4x2
Mo Sheanduine Dóighte	DCCU:277	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Mo Shlán Leat, a Mhuruig	MMS:64	3	4,1	4x2
Mo Shlán chun a' Bhaile	CM:29(v,1)	3	4,1	3A+B
Mo Shlán le Dúthracht d'Éirinn	ACF:78	3	6,1	4x2
Mo Thalamh Beag Dúthchais Féin	ACF:126	3	6,1	4x2
Mo Theaghlach	ACF:58	3	4,1/3,2	(3A+B)+R(2)
Mo Thraochadh is mo Shaoth rem Ló thú	PF:73	3	34,2	4x2
Moirin Ni Chuillionain	PPM:56	3	8,1	4x4
Moladh ar Bhean Ristearid Uí Dhónaill	DTA:49	2	8,1	4x4
Moladh Eanaigh	EDS:92	3	4,1	8x2
Moladh mo Roghain	DCCU:76	3	4,1	4x2
Moladh Sheámais Mhic Cuarta (CL)	PML:12	2/3	6,1	4x3
Moladh Shliabh Maoineach	DCCU:410	3	8,1	4x4
Moladh Shliabh Shionnacháin	DCCU:335	3	3,1/7,1	AABA
Mór ná Beag	AGCC:100	3	7,2	4x4
Móra ar mwaidin doet	Free.:150	2	4,1	4x2
Mota Ghrainne Díg	IM 1:194	3	6,3	2x2+R(2)
Muidheach gach aon a shlighe...	ILM:71	3	8,2	2x4
Muinntear Ghallichobhair...	DCCU:300	3	7,2	4x3

Muire mo Stór	ND 1;40	3	8,1	P
Muiris Ó Gormáin	POD;51	3	8,1	4x4
Muirnín na Gruaige Báine (1)	DCCU;133	2	7,2	4x4
Muirnín na Gruaige Báine (2)	DCCU;134	2	7,2	4x4
Murchadh Ó Maoláin	MMS;35	2	8,1	4x4
Mwaidin Luan Cásca	Free;141	3	7,2	4x3
Na Buachaillí Bána	Raf;90	2/3	8,1	4x4
Na Buachaillí i n-Albain	CCU;143	2	4,2	4x2
Na Ceithre Críocha Déanacha (CL)	ND 2;25	3	5,1	4x2
Na Connerys (1)	DD;32	3	6,1	4x3
Na Connerys (2)	DD;28	2	8,1	4x4
Na Fataí Bána	FC;67	2/3	8,1	2x4
Na Féilte Muire (CL)	SMC;21	3	5,1	4x2
Na Franncaigh Bána	DCCU;26	2/3	8,1	2x4
Na Gamhna Geala	ACU;76	2/3	4,2	4x2
Na Gleannta	CD;99	2	4,2	4x2
Na hAoiseanna	FC;74	3	4,2	4x2
Na Prátaí Dubha (A)	DD;19(v,2,5,6)	3	4,3/4,1	ABAB
Na Prátaí Dubha (B)	DD;19(v,1,3,4)	3	4,3/4,1	3A+B
Na Sláintí	ACF;184	3	7,2	4x4
Na Táilliuirí (CL)	AMB;36	2/3	4,2	4x2
Nach agam atá na Trí Seóide	CD;77	3	6,1	4x2
Nach Ait an Mac é an Saoghal	CD;136	3	6,1	4x2
Nach Ait an Nós	DOB;18	3	5,2	4x2
Nach Aoibhinn do sna hÉiníní	ACF;161	2/3	4,1	4x2
Nach í seo an Aimsir Phléisiúrtha	RB;86	2	Mixed	C
Nancy Bhéasach	AGI;13	3	7,2	4x3
'Nansaidh, a Théagair	DCCU;96	3	4,1	4x2
Nansaidh Bhreathnach	Raf;55	2	7,2	4x4
Nansaidh Ní Dhóidín	R agus A;45	2/3	7,2	4x4
Nansaidh Ní Dhuilleacháin	AMC;90	3	7,2	4x4
Nár Fhagha mé Bás	CD;141	3	5,1	4x2
Neileach	MMS;51	3	8,1	4x4
Neileach Mhór	MMS;54	3	7,2	4x3
Neilidh Óg Ní Cheallaigh	DCCU;429	2	8,1	2x4
Neillí Nic Dhomhnaill	CCU;77	3	8,1	4x4
Neillidh Bhán	ACU;39	2	4,1	4x2
Neillidh na gCocán	AGCC;106	3	4,2	4x2
Ní féasta go rósadh	SU;176	3	2,2	P
Ní hé marbhadh an dúin...	PF;123	3	5,1	4x2
Ní thuigeann an sáthach an seang	SU;176	3	3,1	P
Níl Shé 'na Lá	Free;257	2	4,2	4x2+R(2)
Nóirín, Mo Mhian	AMS;139	3	4,1	4x2
Nóra Ní Chonchubhair Bhán	CD;117	2	7,2	4x4
Nóra Nic Giolla Cearr	DCCU;181	3	5,1	4x2
Nóra Nic Lochlainn	DCCU;86	3	5,1	4x2
Nóra agus Cathal	CB;64	3	6,1	4x2
Nora an Chuil Omra	IPS;80	3	4,12	4x2
"Nuair a Ghabhaim-se tríd an mBaile Seo"	AG;79	2	8,1	4x4
Nuair a Ghluaisíonn an Maor	CM;23	2	7,2	4x4
Nuair a Théidhim Amach 'un a' tSléibhe	DCCU;62	3	6,1	4x2
Nuair a Théidhim-se Amach	ACG;144	3	8,1	4x4
Nuer d'eyrig an aingir	Free;250	3	4,2	4x2
Ó Raghallaigh Bhaile Mhíleis	CCU;54	2	4,2	4x2
Och! a Mhuire (CL)	ND 1;13	3	5,1	4x2
Och! a Úna	ND 3;57	3	7,2	4x3
Ochón, a Dhonncha	OT;260	3	6,2	4x3

Dfrálaim m'Intinn le hIntinn an Aifrinn	APD;no, 79	3	34,2	
Óg-Mhná Theilinn	DCCU;406	3	5,1	4x2
Óíche na dTinte Cónámh	DO;44	3	8,1	4x2
Óíche Sheáin Uí de Dhiarmada	RB;82	3	4,23	4x4
Did do'n t-saoi Coindealbhan	IM 1;179	3	4,1	4x2
Didhche Shamhna ar an Fhairrge	DCCU;435	3	4,2	4x2
Didhche Shamhna ar an Fhairrge (CL)	DCCU;435	3	7,2	4x4
Óm Sceol ar Ardmdhaigh Fáil	DT;84	3	5,2	4x2
Oró Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile	ACF;28	2	4,2/3,2 (3A+B)+R(2)	
Pádraic Ruadh Bairréad	Iorr;232	2	4,2	4x2
Pádraig 'Ac Guidhir	DCCU;175	2	7,2	2x4
Pádraig Mhac Ruaidhrigh	DCCU;394	3	7,2	4x3
Pádraig Ó Dómhnailláin	Raf;182	2	8,1	4x4
Páidín Bán Ua Cormaic	AGI;25	2	4,1	4x2
Páidín Ó Catháin	FC;56	3	6,1	4x2
Páidín Ó Rafartaigh	ACF;118	3	4,3	8x2
Páis Chríost (CL)	SMC;50	3	5,1	4x2
Parrthas Nua	ND 2;26	2/3	6,2	4x3
Peadairín Phádraic	ACG;14	3	5,1	4x2
Peadar Gléigeal	CO;91	2	7,2	2x4
Péarla an Bhrollaigh Bháin	ND 3;47	2	7,2	4x4
Péarla Deas an tSliabh Bán	DCCU;123	3	5,1	4x2
Peigí Ní Nuinsion	AGI;35	2	8,1	4x4
Peigí Ní Shléibhín	DCCU;49	3	4,2	4x2
Peigídh Dhubh mo Mhíle Stór	DCCU;124	3	56,1	4x2
Peigín an Chúil Bháin	CO;11	3	7,1	4x3
Pilib Séimh Ceart Ó Fathaigh	DD;73	3	8,1	4x4
Píopa Andy Mhóir	CO;65	2	4,1/2,2	AABA
Plaincsti an tSeiriodánaigh	Raf;263	3	4,2	4x2
Pléaráca na bPollan	DCCU;287	3	8,1/4,3	AABA+R(4)
Plúirín na mBan Donn Óg	ACF;60	2	7,1/4,1	AABA+R(4)
Pól Armas	RB;69	3	4,1	4x2
Preab san Úl	RB;72	2/3	8,1	4x4
Préachán Chill Chainnigh	DO;38	2	4,2/2,3	AABA
Príósún Chluain Meala	DT;330	3	4,2	4x2
Raca Breá mo Ching	Free;1279	2	4,1	4x2
Ráfladh an Smaolaigh	R agus A;20	3	8,1	4x4
Raghadsa Faoin Sliabh	ND 3;43	3	8,1	2x4
Raidhrí Álainn	DTA;54	3	4,2	4x2
Rainn Fhir an Éada (CL)	ND 1;42	3	5,1	4x2
Raithineach, a Bhean Bheag	ACF;40	2	4,2	4x2+R(2)
Rann an Tobac	FC;42	3	12,1	4x4
Réa-Chnuc Mná Duí	Free;154	2	4,1	4x2
Réalt ins an bPobul	CO;19	3	6,1	4x2
Realtan Chill-Chainnigh	PPM;90	3	7,2	4x3
Réiltheann an Tobair	DTA;35	3	5,1	4x2
Réir Dé	APD;no, 197	3	3,3	4x1
Rinne Philib a' Chedil	LD;no, 59	3	6,1	2x2+R(2)
Risteard Ó Broin	ACG;80	3	4,1	4x2
Risteard Ó Bruineann	DT;324	2	4,1	4x2
Risteard Seoighe	ACG;39	2	7,2	4x4
Róis Bhán (A)	DCCU;120(1-6)	3	6,1	4x3
Róis Bhán (B)	DCCU;121(7-12)	3	5,12	4x2
Róis Nic an Bhaire	PDD;53	2/3	6,1	4x3
Róis a' Chúil Chlannaigh	DCCU;63	2	4,2	4x2
Róise (CL)	ND 1;41	3	4,1	4x2
Róise Gamal	RB;83	2/3	7,2	4x4

Rós Geal Dubh	ACF;156	3	4,1	4x2
Ros a' Mhí	ND 3;34	2	4,1	4x2
Rosc-Catha na Mumhan	FF;40	3	4,1/8,1	C+R(2)
Ruaidhrí Ó Catháin	MMS;50	2	4,1	4x2
Sa Mhainistir Lá	CM;32	3	5,1	4x2
Sadhbh Nig Direachtaigh	PDD;65	3	7,2	4x4
Sagart na Cúile Báine	ACG;120	3	7,2	4x4
Saileóg Ruadh	MMS;68	2/3	8,1	4x4
Samhradh	ACF;10	3	8,1	2x4+R(2,4)
Saoghal Bocht Seachránach	DCCU;387	3	5,1	4x2
Saoradh Mholl Nic na Buí	CB;59	3	8,1	4x4
Saorughadh Shighle Thir Eoghain	DCCU;248	3	8,1	4x4
Sceál do Scaoil	DOB;10	3	34,2	4x2
Sceál do Scaoil (CL)	DOB;16	3	4,2	4x2
'Se an Loch is Mó ag mo Stór	CD;107	3	6,1	4x2
Sé Rí Geal na nGrást	CD;70	3	7,2	4x4
Sé is léir liom uaim	R agus A;2	3	7,2	4x3
Seabhac na Rabhan	DCCU;126	3	5,1	4x2
Seachrán Chearbhaill	ACG;104	2	5,1	4x2
Seachrán Fhiachra Mhic Bhrádaigh	CCU;34	3	8,1	4x4
Seághan Conróid	Raf.;67	2	8,1	4x4
Seághan Ó Branáin	Raf.;257	3	12,1	4x4
Seághan Ó Ciardhubháin	ACG;27	3	8,1	4x4
Seághan Ó Dómhnaill	CCU;113	3	7,2	2x4
Seághan Ó h-Eóchaidh	CCU;29	3	5,1	4x2
Seághan Ó Máille	ACG;159	3	7,2	4x3
Seághan Ua Maoláin	AGI;15	2/3	8,1	4x4
Seáinín a' Mhargaidh	CD;23	2	4,3	4x2
Sealad Aréir	FF;29	3	4,3/4,1	AABA+R(4)
Sealad dem Shaoghal	EDS;72	3	8,1	4x4
Séamas a' Mhurfaidh	ACU;61	3	4,2	4x2
Séamas Mhac Ghiolla Dhé	ACG;29	2	6,1/3,2	C
Séamas Ó Creacháin	FC;60	3	8,1	4x4
Séamas Ó Loinscigh	RB;74	3	2,2/34,2	2(AABA)
Seán Bán	DCCU;91	3	6,1	4x2
Seán Bán Eile	DCCU;92	3	5,1	4x2
Seán Bán Fireann	DD;102	3	8,1	4x4
Seán Buidhe	CAS 1;12	3	7,2	4x3
Sean Dún na nGall	ACF;88	3	4,1	4x2
Seán Mhach Aoidh	ACU;56	3	8,1	2x4+R(3)
Seán na Mine	DCCU;336	3	8,1	2x4
Seán Ó Dighe	FF;112	2	6,1	4x2
Seán Ó Grádaigh	CD;72	2/3	7,2	4x4
Seán Ó Neochalla	FC;39	3	7,3	4x4
Seana-chúirt na nDéise	LD;no, 5	3	3,2/7,2	ABA
Seanchus na Sgeiche	Raf.;129	2/3	4,2	4x2
Searcrún na dTréan	PDD;57	2	7,2	4x4
Sebeal Ni Bhriain	PPM;172	3	8,1	4x4
Seirbhíseach Seirgthe fogair...	DT;116	2/3	6,1	4x3
Seó Hó Leó	ACF;196	2	4,2	4x2+R(4)
Seoirse Conamara	AGI;73	3	4,2	4x2
Seoladh na nGamhna 'sa bhFasach	AMS;19	2	7,2	2x4
Seoladh na nGamhnadh	IPS;50	3	7,2	4x3
Seon Brún	DCCU;200	3	7,2	4x4
Seothó, a Thoil	FF;121	3	4,1	4x2+R(2)
Sgéimh na Mná	DCCU;333	3	7,3	4x3
Sgéimh Rinn na Feirsde	Iorr.;218	3	7,2/4,3	AABA

Sgoil na hOidhche	MMS;100	3	8,1	4x4
Shé airíom igom bayintir	Free;167	3	4,2	4x2
Sheán O'Dyr a Ghleana	Free;282	2	8,1	2x4
Sheán ó wár a chnuic	Free;260	3	4,1/2,1	AABA+R(1)
Shíl Mise a Chuisle	CD;133	3	4,1	4x2
Sí an Bheanín tSeoid	CD;93	3	Mixed	C
Sicíní Bhrighid Éadmuinn	ACG;32(v,2)	2	4,2/2,3	AABA
Sidh-Bhean Locha Léin	AG;11	3	8,1	2x4
Síghle Bhán Ní Shléibhín	DCCU;17	2	7,2	4x2
Síle Bheag Ní Choindealbhain	IPS;98	3	6,1	4x2
Síle Ní Ghadhra	DG;67	3	4,2/4,1	AABA
Sin Choidhche Clár Luirc	ACF;106	3	4,1	8x2
Sinead Ní Mholtáin	CT;16	3	7,2	4x3
Sinead Nic a' Bháird	MMS;7	2	8,1	4x4
Sínidh go deas mé i gCómhnair	DCCU;242	3	6,1	2x2
Siosma an Anama leis an g-Coluinn	ILM;16	3	4,2	4x2
Siubhán Ní Dhuibhir	ACU;42	3	5,1	4x2
Sláinte 'gus saol agat	SU;179	3	2,3	P
Sláinte na Mná Gaelaí	POD;49	3	5,1	4x2
Sláinte Ríogh Philip	DCCU;19	3	6,1	4x2
Slán agus Beannacht le Buaidhreach...	AMS;48	3	8,1	4x4
Slán chum Carraig an Éide	EOS;94	3	4,2/4,1	AABA
Slán d'Fhearaibh Laighean	ND 2;58	3	5,1	4x2
Slán le Corcaigh	CAS 3;28	3	7,1	4x3
Slán le Máig	ACF;112	2	4,1	4x2+R(2)
Sliabh Féilim	R agus A;29	2	7,2	4x4
Sliabh Liag	CT;82	3	8,1	4x4
Sliabh na mBan	ACF;136	2/3	8,1	4x4
Snáth na Bainríoghna	DCCU;321	3	8,1	4x4
Snuim a Ghrá	Free;329	3	4,3	4x2
Soitheach an Chamuis Mhoir	DCCU;183	2/3	8,1	2x4
Solus na Ré	Free;144	3	67,2	4x2
Sráid a' Chlocháin-Liath	ACU;52	2	4,1	4x2
Stad, Iriú a Reóguirín, Stad!	Free;290	3	3,2	4x1+R(2)
Stáid an Fhir Fholaimh	FC;72	3	6,1	4x2
Stuairín na mBachall mBreá Réidh	DT;278	3	6,1	4x2
Subháilc na Maighdine Muire	ACU;91	3	7,1	AABA+R(4)
Súil Cabhrach Éireann	IM 2;36	2	7,2	4x4
Suirghe Mhic Suibhne	MMS;11	3	8,1	4x4
Suirghe an Réice Fhallsa	DCCU;240	3	67,2	4x2
Tá Abhar Gáire Agam	AMB;44	3	4,2	4x2
Tá Abhar Gáire Agam (CL)	AMB;44	2/3	6,1	4x3
Tá Bearad i Londain	FF;43	3	4,2	4x2+R(1)
Tá ceart gan blas ag an Ultach	SU;179	3	3,2	4x1
Tá Crann ar an gCoill	DCCU;153	3	5,1	4x2
Tá Dairtí ag Dul Tríom	PML;44	3	6,1	4x2
Tá Daoine a' Rádh	DCCU;83	3	5,1	4x2
Tá Dhá Ghabhairín Bhuidhe Agam	DG;15	2	4,2	4x2
Tá Eatortha Araon	EOS;107	3	5,1	4x2
Tá mé 'mo Chodladh (1)	DCCU;54	3	4,3/4,1 (3A+B)+R(4)	
Tá mé 'mo Shuí	ND 2;74	3	5,1	4x2
Tá mo Chleamhnas Déanta	AMS;130	2/3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
Tá mo Chóta Mór Stróicthe, Ochón!	CD;111	3	5,1	4x2
Tá Muc air a' Margadh	ACU;66	3	4,1/3,2	3A+B
Tá na Saighdiúirí ag Dul Anonn (A)	ACG;92(v,2,5)	3	4,1	4x2
Tá na Saighdiúirí ag Dul Anonn (B)	ACG;92(v,4,6)	3	4,2	4x2
Tá na Saighdiúirí ag Dul Anonn (C)	ACG;92(v,1,3)	3	4,1	4x2

Ta saigheada agus cnead...	IM 1;286	3	7,2	4x4
Tagra an dá Theampall	AMC;84	3	7,2	4x4
Táilliúir an Mhagaigh	ND 3;59	3	5,1	4x2
Táilliúirín an Eudaigh	AGCC;36	2/3	4,2	4x2
Táim ag Imtheacht ar Sáile Anonn	DCCU;33	3	4,1	4x2
"Táim Breidhte go Leór"	ACF;36	3	4,1	4x2+R(4)
"Táim i n-Arréars"	AG;53	3	6,1	2x2+R(2)
Táim-se am Chodladh (2)	ACF;199	3	8,1/4,3	AABA
Táim-se ar an mBaile Seo	ACF;34	2	4,1	4x2
Taimín Bán	CD;121	3	5,1	4x2
Taiscigh, a Chlocha	OT;172	3	5,1	4x2
Talamh Éireann	DCCU;342	3	7,2	2x4
Taobh Chill an Fhuarthain	ACF;139	3	4,2	4x2
Taobh Thall de Chlaidhe na Teorthann	ACG;113	2/3	4,12	4x2
Tarbh Chill Chéise	DD;68	3	7,2	4x3
Tarngaireacht Dhoinn Fhirinnigh	IM 2;46	3	4,2	4x2
Tarraing go Ciúin, go Ciúin	ACF;16	3	6,3	2x2
Tarraingt na Móna	RB;65	3	4,2	4x2
Tayg Bwí	Free;126	3	4,1	4x2
Teacht na n-geana fiadhaine	PPM;168	3	8,1	4x4
Teanga na nGaedheal	CAS 1;14	3	8,1	4x4
Thá an Samhradh Caite...	DD;40	3	5,1	4x2
Tháinig Dís chun an tSaoil	RB;79	3	8,1	2x4
Tháinig Luch Isteach Chugam	CD;97	2	4,2	4x2
Thíos Cois na Trágha	AG;15	3	8,1	2x4
Thíos i dTeach a' Tórraimh	ACU;88	3	7,1	4x3
Thíos in Inis Bó Báine	CD;129	3	6,1	4x2
Thuas ag Gort a' Charnáin	AMS;13	3	4,2	4x2
Tighearna Mhaigheo	IM 1;228	3	6,1/3,2	4A+B+A
Tiobar deas Chrann Moling	DD;61	3	5,1	4x2
Tiocfa mo Ghrádh-sa	CD;25	3	4,2	4x2
Tiocfaidh an Samhradh	ACU;85	3	4,1	4x2
Tiocfaidh bliain an óir	SU;175	3	2,1	P
Tithe Chorr an Chait (CL)	ND 2;17	3	5,1	4x2
Tógfa mé mo Sheolta,,(1)	CD;123	2	4,2	4x2
Tógfaidh mé mo Sheoltaí (2)	DCCU;143	2	4,2	4x2
Toireadh air bhas Sheaghain Chlaraich	IM 2;252	3	6,1	4x2
Toirealach ó Cearúlláin	PML;17	3	7,2	4x3
Tomás Bán Mhac Aodhagáin	ACG;45	2	4,1	4x2
Tomás Mhac Filibín	ACG;111	2	4,1/2,2	AABA
Tommy mo Mhíle Stór	LD;no, 24	2	4,1	4x2
Torlach Cóir ó hAmaill	POD;55	3	7,2	4x4
Tórramh an Bharaille	LD;no, 47	3	7,2	4x4
Tosóidh mé ag an Talamh Leat	DM;24	3	2,3	P
Tránhóinín Déanach a Téacht...	Free;110	3	8,1/4,3	AABA+R(4)
Tránhóinín Déanach i Géin	Free;112	3	8,1	4x4
Tránhóinín Suirí	Free;169	3	4,2	4x2
Triamhain Phádraig Uí Bhriain	ND 2;59	3	8,1	4x4
Tuar Guil, a Cholaím, do Cheol! (CL)	OT;22	3	5,1	4x2
Tuireadh air bhas mhna an dara righe...	IM 2;16	3	8,1	2x4
Tuireadh an Doctúir Mhic Domhnaill	DCCU;412	3	7,2	4x4
Tuireadh Eibhlin N-i Arthnain	IM 2;258	3	4,2	4x2
Tuireamh Airt Óig Uí Néill	ND 2;43	3	4,2	6x2
Tuireamh...ar Bhás Mhic Phiarais	PH;21	3	34,2	4x1/2
Tuireamh Cháit Béalín	PML;40	3	34,2	P
Tuireamh Mhurcha Crúis	SMC;32	3	4,2	P
Tuireamh na Meisce	CB;87	3	34,2	P

Tuireamh na Meisce (CL)	CB;89	3	5,1	4x2
Tuireamh na hÉireann	DR;59	3	34,2	P
Tuireamh na hÉireann (CL)	DR;81(489-92)	3	4,2	4x2
Tuireamh Philip Mac Ghiolla Ghunna	DCCU;246	3	4,2	4x2
Tuireamh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta (CL)	PML;39	3	5,1	4x2
Tuireamh Shéamais Mhic Cuarta	PML;37	3	34,2	P
Tuireamh Shomhairle Mhic Dónaill	SMC;63	3	4,2	P
Tuireav Vic Inín Duiv	Free;1200	3	5,1	4x2
Túirín an Chéim	ACF;110	3	5,1	4x2
Túirne Mháire	ACF;214	2	7,2	4x3+R(1)
Tulaigh Shléibhe	Iorr;1277	2	8,1	4x4
Turus go dTír na n-Óg	ACF;128	2	7,1	4x3
Uaigneas fá Charaid	DCCU;188	3	5,1	4x2
Uaill Cumhaidh an Mangaire Sugaich	IPS;68	2	3,3	4x1
Uaill Cumhaidh an Mangaire Sugaich (CL)	IPS;72	3	5,1	4x2
Uaill-Guth an Aoibhnis	IPS;134	2	4,1	4x2
Udhacht Pháidín Toirdhéalbhaigh	LD;no. 51	3	7,2	4x3
Uilliam Ó Ceallaigh	Raf;173	3	8,1	4x4
Uir-Chill a' Chreagáin	FF;50	3	5,1	4x2
Uisge Beatha	DCCU;286	3	8,1	2x4
Úna Bhán (A)	FF;61(v,1-2)	3	4,2	4x2
Úna Bhán (B)	FF;62(v,3-4)	3	5,1	4x2
Úna Dheas Ní Nidhe	CO;114	2	8,1	4x4
Úna Phéacach	AGCC;122	2/3	8,1	4x4
Úr-Chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte	FF;62	3	7,2	4x3
Vailintín Brún	DT;160	3	5,1	4x2

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